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1927

(orig. 1925)

The
Black Hawk
Watch
Tower

ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY.





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The Black Hawk Watch Tower

In the
County of Rock Island
State of Illinois



By
John H. Hauberg

BLACK HAWK'S WATCH TOWER
A Short Presentation of Its History and Scenic Interest
JOHN H. HAUBERG

Printed by Drifill Printing Co., 1927

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Bl. Hawk's Watch Tower

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Page Three

Black Hawk's Watch Tower



View down Rock river from Black Hawk's Watch Tower—The bluffs at the west side of the Mississippi are dimly visible to the right

“This Tower, to which my name has been applied, was a favorite resort, and was frequently visited by me alone, when I could sit and smoke my pipe and look with wonder and pleasure at the grand scenes that were presented by the sun’s rays, even across the mighty water.”

—Black Hawk in his *Autobiography*, page 70.



Black Hawk's Watch Tower from the Bridge, showing the Inn at the top

Black Hawk's Watch Tower

Black Hawk's village in 1817, as described by Major Long:

"On Rock river, two miles above its mouth, and three miles across the point from Fort Armstrong is a Sack village, consisting of about one hundred cabins, of two, three and, in some instances, four fires each. It is by far the largest Indian village situated in the neighborhood of the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. The whole number of Indians at this village amounts probably to be-

tween two and three thousand. They can furnish eight or nine hundred warriors, all of them armed with rifles or fuses.

"The Indians of these two villages (one the Fox village, immediately opposite to Fort Armstrong on the south side of the Mississippi) cultivate vast fields of corn," etc.

From the diary of Maj. Stephen H. Long (later of Long's Peak, Colo., fame), Topographical Engineer, U. S. Army, dated August 1, 1817, as published in Vol. 2, Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, page 68.



Sauk and Fox Indians at the Watch Tower, with the Great-grandson of Black Hawk, Jesse Ka-Ka-Que, at their head

A 1773 Description of the Sauk Indians

By Peter Pond, Wis. Hist. Colls., XVIII., p. 335

"These People are Cald Saukeas. They are of a Good Sise and Well Disposed—Les Inclind to tricks and Bad manners than thare Nighbers. Thay will take of the Traders Goods on Creadit in the fall for thare youse. In Winter and Except for Axedant thay Pay the Deapt Verey Well for Indians I mite have sade Inlitend or Sivelised Indans which are in General made worse by the Operation. . . . Sum of thare Huts are Sixtey feet long and Contanes Several fammalayes. . . . In the fall of ye Year thay Leave thare Huts and

Go into the Woods in Quest of Game and Return in the Spring to thare Huts before Planting time. The Women Rase Grate Crops of Corn, Been, Punkens, Potatoes, Millans and artikels—the Land is Exaleant—and Clear of Wood Sum Distans from the Villeag. Thare (are) Sum Hundred of Inhabitants. Thare amusements are Singing, Dancing, Smokeing, Matcheis, Gaming, Feasting, Drinking, Playing the Slite of Hand, Hunting, and thay are famas in Mageack."



Black Hawk's Village Site

Black Hawk's Village Site

"Our village was situated on the north side of Rock river, at the foot of the rapids, on the point of land between Rock river and the Mississippi. In front, a prairie extended to the Mississippi, and in the rear a continued bluff gently ascended from the prairie.

"On its highest peak our Watch Tower was situated, from which we had a fine view for many miles up and down Rock river and in every direction. On the side of this bluff we had our corn fields, extending about two miles up parallel with the large river, where they adjoined those of the Foxes, whose village was on the same stream, opposite the lower end of Rock Island, and three miles distant from ours. We had eight hundred acres in cultivation, including what we had on the islands in Rock river. The land around our

village which remained unbroken was covered with blue grass, which furnished excellent pasture for our horses. Several fine springs poured out of the bluffs near by, from which we were well supplied with good water. The rapids of Rock river furnished us with an abundance of excellent fish, and the land being very fertile, never failed to produce good crops of corn, beans, pumpkins and squashes. We always had plenty; our children never cried from hunger, neither were our people in want. Here our village had stood for more than a hundred years, during all of which time we were the undisputed possessors of the Mississippi valley, from the Wisconsin to the Portage des Sioux, near the mouth of the Missouri, being about seven hundred miles in length."— Black Hawk's Autobiography, p. 62.



An Indian Cornfield near Watch Tower grounds, taken 1916—This ground has never been cultivated by the white man and is just as the squaws left it in 1831

Sauk and Fox Indians' Means of Sustenance

"In the winter of 1819-20, these two nations (the Sauk and Fox) had five traders, who employed nine clerks and interpreters, with annual salaries of from two to twelve hundred dollars each (the average being about four hundred dollars), and forty-three laborers, whose pay was from one hundred to two hundred dollars each per annum. These traders, including the peltries received at the United States factory near Fort Edwards, collected of the Sauk and Fox Indians during this season nine hundred and eighty packs.

They consisted of:

2,760 Beaver skins	500 Mink
922 Otter	200 Wildcat
13,440 Raccoon	680 Bear skins
12,900 Musk rat	<u>28,680</u> Deer

Whole number, 60,082.

The estimated value of which was **fifty-eight thousand and eight hundred dollars.**

"The quantity of tallow, presumed to be collected from the deer, was two hundred and eighty-six thousand, eight hundred pounds. The traders also collected, during the same time, from these Indians at least three thousand pounds of feathers and one thousand pounds of bees-wax. From their fields, covering 800 acres, they produced more than was necessary for their sustenance, so that about one thousand bushels of corn is annually sold to traders and others.

"The women usually make about three hundred floor mats every summer. These mats are as handsome and durable as those made abroad. * * * From four to five hundred thousand weight of mineral (lead) is dug during the season by those of the able-bodied men who do not go out to hunt."

—pp. 126 and 127, Morse's Report.

From data supplied by Major Marston, Commandant at Fort Armstrong, to Jedidiah Morse, November, 1820.



At the Watch Tower—To Boys and Girls it is still Good Indian Country

The Watch Tower in General American History

As the French and Indian war drew to a close, the last of the French soldiers of the northwest, 132 in number, spent the winter of 1760-1761 here, ice bound, on their retreat from Michilimacinac to Fort Chartres, Illinois.
(pp. 437-8 Fr. Regime, Wis. & NW., Kellogg.)

During the Revolutionary war it was the scene of military activities of both the British and the American forces, as told in succeeding pages of this book.

The War of 1812-1814 saw more American casualties in battle in this vicinity, at the hands

of Black Hawk and his braves, than took place within the borders of all the New England States combined in that war.

The Black Hawk war, 1831-1832 was fought for possession of these very grounds, of which the Watch Tower was the dominant feature. It was the last Indian war of the old northwest territory. The American casualties were about 150 killed and 250 deaths from sickness. Black Hawk's "British band," as his followers were called, about 1,000 in number, had only about 150 left to tell the tale.



At Black Hawk's Watch Tower

The Watch Tower Four Times a Target

On four separate occasions the Watch Tower saw the approach of armies of the white man coming to destroy the village or to battle with its inhabitants, as follows:

(1) In May, 1780, one of the campaigns of the Revolutionary war, when Col. John Montgomery came with a force of 350 men and burned the village.

(2) September, 1814, an expedition in the War of 1812-1814 under command of Maj. Zachary Taylor, who was sent to burn the village and destroy the growing crops. Taylor was defeated by Black Hawk, with the as-

sistance of numerous Indian allies and a British battery.

(3) June, 1831, when 1,600 Illinois volunteers under command of Brig. Gen. Joseph Duncan burned the village.

(4) When 1,800 Illinois volunteers marched here in 1832, in anticipation of meeting the hostile Indians somewhere in this community.

The volunteers' camp, in sight of the Watch Tower, May 7-10, 1832, has added interest because of the presence there of Capt. Abraham Lincoln and his company. The volunteers were sworn into the Federal service at this camp.



Black Hawk was seventy years of age when this portrait of him was painted by James Byrd King—Taken from the McKenney & Hall Collection of North American Indians

Black Hawk and Keokuk, Both Sons of the Watch Tower Village

"The names of Black Hawk and Keokuk must be included in any list of great American Indians. And, measured by what they were and what they did, their names must stand near the top of such a list. They suffer in comparison with none. That out of a tribe

numbering only a few thousand persons two such men should have been developed at one time is in itself remarkable. * * * * The roles played by these two Indians are diametrically opposed to each other. Black Hawk's part was that of unavailing protest,



Keokuk, painted from Life by George Catlin
The original is at the National Museum, Washington, D. C.

and Keokuk's that of equally unavailing acquiescence. Black Hawk resisted while Keokuk compromised. Keokuk's course was based on an intelligent calculation of consequences, while Black Hawk followed the instincts and aspirations of his race, regardless of consequences. It came about that Keokuk was pleased with the praise of white men, while Black Hawk found no pleasure in anything

except a satisfied racial conscience. Black Hawk died nobly in the virtues of his own race, while Keokuk passed out in many of the vices of the white man. History may praise Keokuk, but it must admire Black Hawk.

"First of all, and most of all, the historian wonders how these two men, out of their meager opportunities, gathered so much human wisdom, and how, out of their miserable sur-



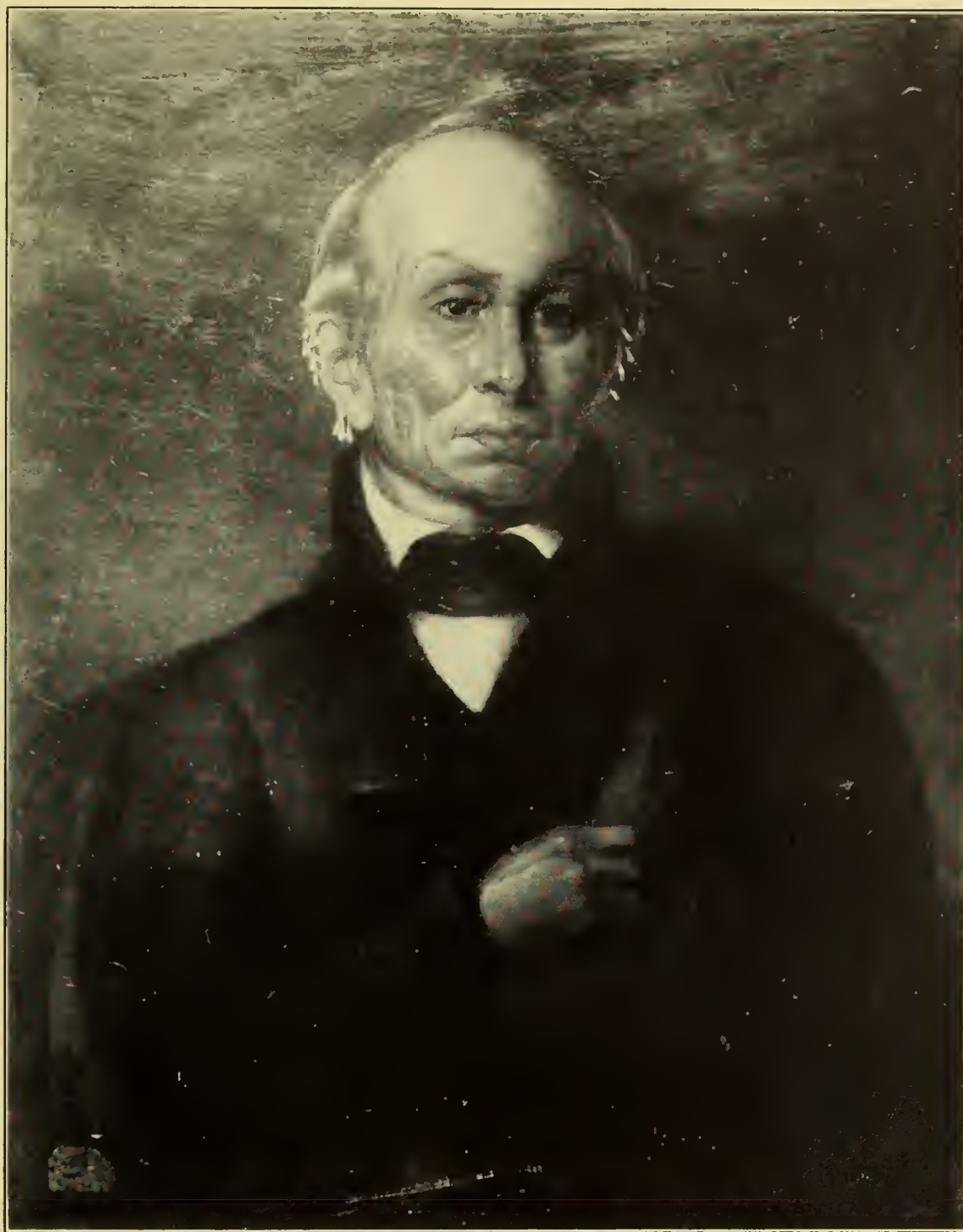
Keokuk on Horseback, painted from Life by George Catlin

Keokuk told the artist he bought the horse of Antoine LeClaire for \$300.00. The original painting is in the National Museum, Washington D. C.

roundings, they garnered so much human nobility. If it is true that many of their acts were brutal, it is also true that many of their thoughts were lofty. The beautiful imagery of many of their spoken words betokens both wealth of mind and health of heart. Only fine instruments produce fine music. In their speeches one comes often upon the evidences of a rare appreciation of nature, and of a philosophy of life that is almost profound. One discovers also the evidences of manners and morals; of things ethical and religious; and of that fairest of all human qualities, charity. Embittered rivals, they forgave each other. Keokuk intervened for Black Hawk when he was down and out, and Black Hawk in his swan song said, 'Do not blame him,' after he

had depicted Keokuk as the cause of his great undoing.

"Black Hawk and Keokuk read no books, and yet they knew and uttered the things that are written in books. But if neither one could read or write in any human language, is it not true that all the books are not printed ones? Is not wisdom expressed also in fields and in forests; in meadows and in streams; in clouds and in stars, as well as in books and pictures? What writers and artists garner for others, these Indians may have garnered for themselves out of the bounteous nature around them. It is worth while to study the man in the forest as well as the man in the library; the savage as well as the civilized man; the primal as well as the final man.

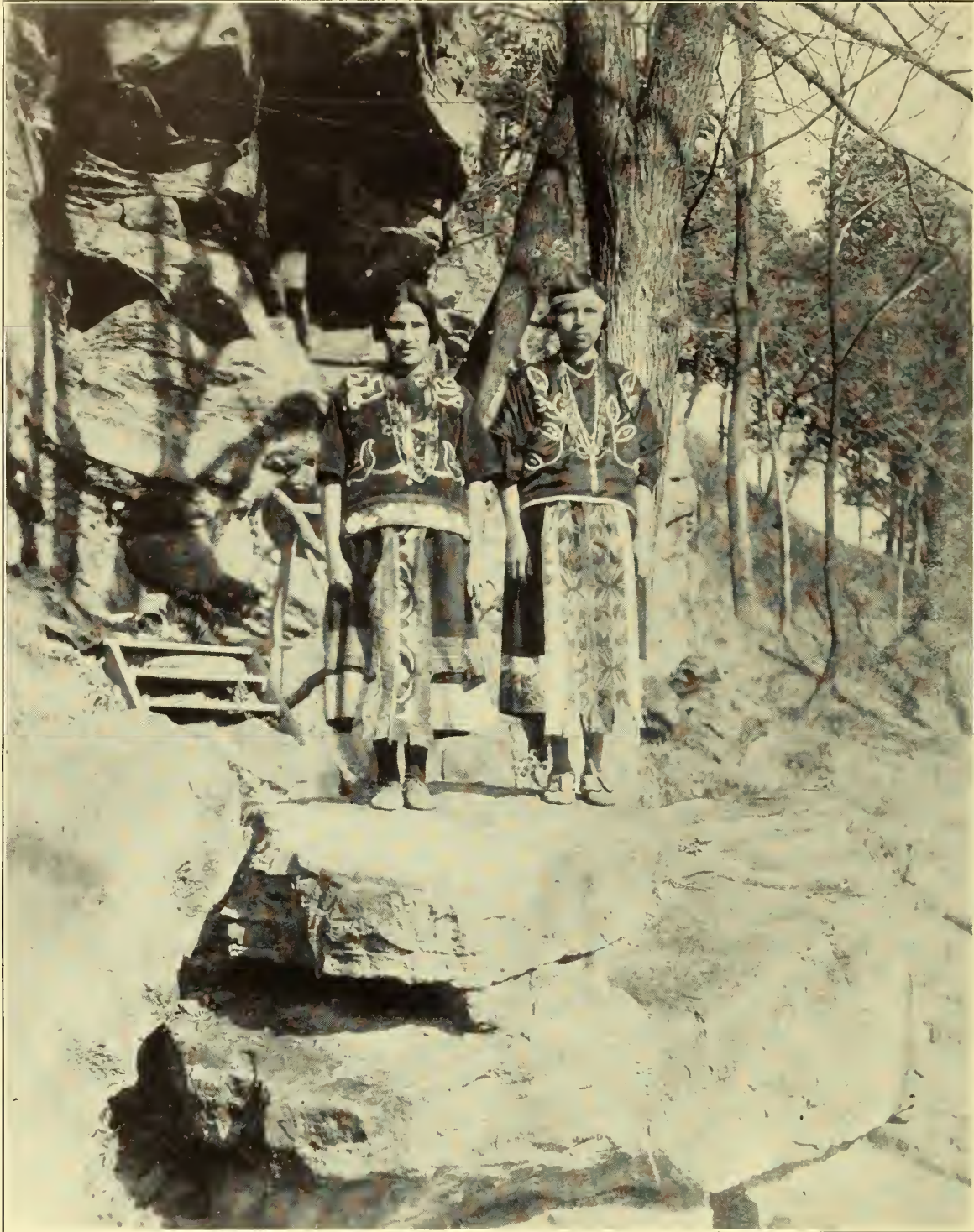


Black Hawk, by R. M. Sully—Painted from life while Black Hawk was a Prisoner of War at Fortress Monroe, Va., in 1833
The original painting is at the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis.

"Black Hawk was all Indian, but Keokuk had in him an admixture of Caucasian blood. Black Hawk speaks of his father, Pyesa, but his mother remained nameless; Keokuk's father had no name that survives, but his mother was La Lott, a half-breed. Among Indians he bore the distinction of blue eyes. But Keokuk regarded himself as an Indian. He was a Sac, and that meant a proud Indian. Physically, as well as mentally, and in their careers, the two men were opposites. Black Hawk

was probably five feet and eight inches in height, thin and wiry; Keokuk stood nearly six feet in height, and robust and massive. Black Hawk had an aquiline nose and his eyes are spoken of as the most piercing ever seen in a human head. Keokuk was described as a 'magnificent specimen' of manhood, and when he was wrought upon, as in speaking, he is said to 'have looked like thunder'."

—From "A History of the People of Iowa," by Cyrenus Cole (1921), pages 107 to 109.



Indians from Tama, Iowa, at Black Hawk's Watch Tower, 1925

Courtship and Marriage

"The women join us in the Crane Dance, dressed in their most gaudy attire and decorated with feathers. The Crane Dance often lasts two or three days. At this feast the young men select the women they wish to have for wives. Each then informs his mother, who calls on the mother of the girl, when the neces-

sary arrangements are made and the time appointed for him to come.

"He goes to the lodge when all are asleep, or pretend to be, and with his flint and steel strikes a light and soon finds where his intended sleeps. He then awakens her, holds the light close to his face that she may know him, after which he places the light close to her.



The "National Dance" at Black Hawk's Village

By Prof. Olof Grafstrom, of Augustana College and Theological Seminary

"If she blows it out the ceremony is ended and he appears in the lodge next morning as one of the family.

"If she does not blow out the light, but leaves it burning he retires from the lodge. The next day he places himself in plain view and plays his flute. The young women go out one by one to see who he is playing for. The tune changes to let them know that he is not playing for them.

"When his intended makes her appearance at the door, he continues his courting tune until she returns to the lodge. He then quits playing and makes another trial at night, which usually turns out favorably.

"When the Crane dance is over, we feast again and have our NATIONAL DANCE. The large square in the village is swept and prepared for the purpose. The chiefs and old warriors take seats on mats which have been spread on the upper end of the square. Next come the drummers and singers.

"The braves and women form the sides, leaving a large space in the middle.

"The drums beat and the singing commences. A warrior enters the square, keeping time with the music. He shows the manner he started on a war party; how he approached the enemy; he strikes, and shows how he killed him. All join in the applause, and he then leaves the square and another takes his place.

"Such of our young men as have not been out in war parties and killed an enemy stand back ashamed, not being allowed to enter the square. I remember that I was ashamed to look where our young men stood, before I could take my stand in the ring as a warrior.

"This national dance makes our warriors. When I was traveling last summer on a steamboat on the river going from New York to Albany, I was shown the place where the Americans dance the war dance (West Point); where the old warriors recount to their young men what they have done, to stimulate them to go and do likewise. This surprised me, as I did not think the whites understood our way of making braves." (Autobiography, pp. 64-66.)



The Great National Game of the Indians

Ball Play

The great national game then, as now, was a ball game, and they had their tribal and country-wide champions, on which the Indians were willing to stake all their possessions. Black Hawk speaks of their local ball play, in his autobiography (p. 68), as follows:

"We next have our great ball play. From three to five hundred on a side play this game. We play for guns, lead, horses and blankets, or any other kind of property we may have. The successful party takes the stakes, and all return to our lodges with peace and friendship. We next commence horse racing, and

continue our sport and feasting until the corn is secured. We then prepare to leave our village for our hunting grounds."

These pictures of the great game are copies of those at the National Museum, painted by George Catlin, and because of the general interest in the subject of sports, we include Mr. Catlin's description of the scenes accompanying the game, as follows:

"From day to day we were entertained with some games or feats that were exceedingly amusing: Horse racing, dancing, wrestling, foot-racing and ball playing were amongst the

most exciting; and of all the catalog the most beautiful was decidedly that of ball playing. This wonderful game, which is the favorite one amongst all the tribes * * * and played exactly the same, can never be appreciated by those who are not happy enough to see it.

"It is no uncommon occurrence for six or eight hundred or a thousand of these young men to engage in a game of ball, with five or six times that number of spectators, of men, women and children, surrounding the ground and looking on. And I pronounce such a scene, with its hundreds of nature's most beautiful models, denuded and painted of various colors, running and leaping into the air in all the most extravagant and varied forms in the desperate struggles for the ball, a school for the painter or sculptor equal to any of those which ever inspired the hand of the artist in the Olympian games or the Roman forum.

"Monday afternoon, at three o'clock, I rode out with Lieutenants S. and M. to a very pretty prairie, about six miles distant, to the ball playground of the Choctaws, where we found several thousand Indians encamped. There were two points of timber about half a mile apart in which the two parties for the play, with their respective families and friends, were encamped, and, lying between them, the prairie on which the game was to be played. My companions and myself, although we had been apprised that to see the whole of a ball play we must remain on the ground all the night previous, had brought nothing to sleep on, resolving to keep our eyes open and see what transpired through the night. During the afternoon we loitered about amongst the different tents and shanties of the two encampments, and afterwards at sundown, witnessed the ceremony of measuring out the ground and erecting the "byes" or goals which were to guide the play. Each party had their goal made with two upright posts (about 25 feet high and six feet apart) set firm in the ground, with a pole across at the top. These goals were about forty or fifty rods apart, and at a point just halfway between was another small stake driven down, where the ball was to be thrown up at the firing of a gun, to be struggled for by the players. All this preparation was made by some old men who were, it seems, selected to be the judges of the play, who drew

a line from one bye to the other; to which, directly, came from the woods on both sides a great concourse of women and old men, boys and girls, and dogs and horses, where bets were to be made on the play. The betting was all done across this line, and seemed to be chiefly left to the women, who seemed to have martialed out a little of everything that their houses and their fields possessed. Goods and chattels, knives, dresses, blankets, pots and kettles, dogs and horses and guns; and all were placed in the possession of the stakeholders, who sat by them and watched them on the ground all night preparatory to the play.

"This game had been arranged and 'made up' three or four months before the parties met to play it, and in the following manner: The two champions who led the two parties, and had the alternate choosing of the players through the whole tribe, sent runners with the ball-sticks, most fantastically ornamented with ribbons and red paint, to be touched by each one of the chosen players, who thereby agreed to be on the spot at the appointed time and ready for the play. The ground having been all prepared and preliminaries of the game all settled, and the bettings all made and goods all 'staked,' night came on without the appearance of any players on the ground. But soon after dark a procession of lighted flambeaux was seen coming from each encampment to the ground, where the players assembled around their respective byes; and at the beat of the drums and chants of the women each party of players commenced the 'ball-play dance.' Each party danced for a quarter of an hour around their respective byes in their ball-play dress; rattling their ball-sticks together in the most violent manner, and all singing as loud as they could raise their voices; whilst the women of each party, who had their goods at stake, formed into two rows on the line between the two parties of players, and danced also in a uniform step; and all their voices joined in chants to the Great Spirit, in which they were soliciting his favor in deciding the game to their advantage; and also encouraging the players to exert every power they possessed in the struggle that was to ensue. In the meantime, four old medicine men who were to have the starting of the ball, and who were to be judges of the play, were seated at the point where the ball was to be started, and



Squaws Take a Hand at the National Game, to the Great Amusement of the Braves

busily smoking to the Great Spirit for their success in judging rightly and impartially between the parties in so important an affair.

"This dance was one of the most picturesque scenes imaginable, and was repeated at intervals of every half hour during the night and exactly in the same manner; so that the players were certainly awake all the night and arrayed in their appropriate dress, prepared for the play which was to commence at nine o'clock the next morning. In the morning, at the hour, the two parties and all their friends were drawn out and over the ground, when, at length, the game commenced by the judges throwing up a ball at the firing of a gun; when an instant struggle ensued between the players, who were some six or seven hundred in numbers, and were mutually endeavoring to

catch the ball in their sticks and throw it home and between their respective stakes; which, whenever successfully done, counts one for game. In this game every player was dressed alike, that is, divested of all dress except the girdle and the tail, which I have before described; and in these desperate struggles for the ball when it is up, where hundreds are running together and leaping actually over each other's heads, and darting between their adversaries' legs, tripping and throwing, and foiling each other in every possible manner, and every voice raised to the highest key in shrill yelps and barks, there are rapid successions of feats and of incidents that astonish and amuse far beyond the conception of anyone who has not had the singular good luck to witness them."

—pp. 123-126, Vol. 2, "No. Am. Indians," by Catlin.



At Indian Lovers' Spring, Black Hawk Watch Tower

The tragedy which occurred at this spot is told by Black Hawk, as follows:

"In 1827, a young Sioux Indian got lost on the prairie in a snow storm, and found his way into a camp of the Sacs. According to Indian customs, although he was an enemy, he was safe while accepting their hospitality. He fell in love with the daughter of the Sac at whose village he had been entertained, and before leaving for his own country, promised to come to the Sac village for her at a certain time during the approaching summer. In July he made his way to the Rock river village, secreting himself in the woods until he met the object of his love, who came out to the field with her mother to assist in hoeing corn. Late in the afternoon her mother left her and went to the

village. No sooner had she got out of hearing than he gave a loud whistle, which assured the maiden that he had returned. She continued hoeing leisurely to the end of the row, when her lover came to meet her, and she promised to come to him as soon as she could go to the lodge and get her blanket, and together they would flee to his country. But, unfortunately for the lovers, the girl's two brothers had seen the meeting, and, after procuring their guns, started in pursuit of them. A heavy thunder storm was coming on at the time. The lovers hastened to and took shelter under a cliff of rocks at Black Hawk's Watch Tower. Soon after a loud peal of thunder was heard; the cliff of rocks was shattered into a thousand pieces and the lovers buried beneath, while in full view of her pursuing brothers."



Camp Fire Girls Entertaining a State Christian Endeavor Convention at the Watch Tower

The Watch Tower in the French and Indian War—1760-61

Sauk and Fox Indians took part—on the winning side—in Braddock's defeat, and were found marching with a horde of Indians of other tribes under the French general, Montcalm, in the campaign down Lakes Champ-lain and George.

In the winter of 1760-61 there were entertained at the village at the Watch Tower the last of the French soldiers to serve in the old northwest.

They were under the command of Louis Lienard, Sieur de Beaujeu Villemonde, a brother of the hero of Braddock's defeat, and were retreating after the British conquest of Canada, as told in "French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest," by Kellogg, as follows:

"All the upper country was included in the surrender. The French troops were to lay down their arms and not to serve again during the war. * * * The commandant at Mackinac, * * * Beaujeu, made preparations for departure in order to avoid the humiliation of surrendering the garrison and post to a British officer. The way through the land to the Mississippi was yet open. Beaujeu, after denud-

ing the fort, started with all his forces for the Illinois (country). Since this province was part of Louisiana, it was hoped it would not be included in the capitulation. Arrived at La Baye (Green Bay, Wis.), Couterot and his garrison joined in the retreat, making up a force of four officers, two cadets, forty-eight soldiers and seventy-eight militia. This was the last French expedition to pass along the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, and we may imagine that the late autumn landscape along their route fell in with the melancholy of their spirits at the abandonment of this lovely land. The season was cold, and before the Illinois settlements could be reached the ice on the Mississippi stopped their retreat. There was nothing to do but to winter among the Indians at the mouth of Rock river, in the village where Marin had once commanded, and where a few years later the chief Black Hawk would be born. It was a strange fatality that the last winter of the French of the northwest was spent among the Sauk Indians who had made the original grant of the land upon which the post of La Baye stood." (See, also, pages 84, 85 and 221, in Vol. XVIII, Wis. Hist. Colls.)



Rotary Club of Rock Island Cruising Among Historic Scenes at the Watch Tower

The Watch Tower in the Revolutionary War

Whether we speak of the recent World war or any of the great campaigns of this country which preceded it, the white man has always sought the Indian warrior to help in the fighting.

In common with all the Indian villages of the upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes district, the Watch Tower village was canvassed by British agents to enlist the Indians for service on the Colonial frontiers. They were to be used in committing such horrible atrocities that General Washington would be compelled to divide his forces—to scatter his army about over frontier and coast until any part of it would be an easy prey to the British regulars.

The Americans, even before the conquest of the Illinois country by General Clark in July, 1778, had sent agents who succeeded, to some extent, in pledging the Sauk and Fox to keep out of the British ranks. After the coming of Clark messengers were sent to all the tribes of

the old northwest, inviting them to come to Cahokia to join with him in treaties of peace. The Indians came in large numbers—whether only pacifist groups, we do not know, but they came and signed peace treaties.

The Indians of the Watch Tower vicinity were not, however, at the mercy of eloquent, brow-beating, flattering, bribing, promising, threatening agents. They had within their own ranks a strong, outstanding, independent leader all their own, in the person of Le Main Cassee.

The Watch Tower occupied middle ground. Its people traded with both the English and the Americans. On the one hand it was considered a serious thing that the British should threaten to withhold their traders from doing business at the Watch Tower, and on the other hand, they were carrying on a good business with the Spanish subjects at St. Louis, and with the Americans down in Illinois, who were purchas-

ing horses and large quantities of lead from them.

The Indians of the Watch Tower vicinity, because of their being on middle ground and having equal intercourse with both sides, were found to have warriors marching with Burgoyne at Saratoga, and with Hesse at St. Louis and Cahokia. While in the midst of it all their representatives carried on an organized propaganda against the British; all but broke up a British expedition at the Watch Tower; held wampum belts of the "Bostonians," and signed treaties of peace and friendship with the Americans under Gen. George Rogers Clark.

Their friendship for the Americans came very near plunging the Watch Tower Indians into a war with the British Sioux, who wished to punish them and who wanted only a word of approval from the British agent before making the attack, and, on the other hand, the Americans, under Col. John Montgomery, did attack the village and burned it because some of its inhabitants were found in the British force, in 1780, which attempted to reconquer the Illinois country.

LE MAIN CASSEE AT HIS WATCH TOWER HOME PROVES HIMSELF TO BE PRO-AMERICAN

To Major DePeyster (British Commandant at Michilimacinac):

"Sir:—

"Having learned that Governor Hamilton was in winter quarters at the Post (Vincennes), to continue in the spring his expedition, I set out to reinforce him by way of the Mississippi river with 280 men—Puants, Feauxavoines, Foxes, Ottawas and Seauteaux. After having made all the absolutely necessary expenditures, I descended the Mississippi to the Rock river (it was then the 4th of April), where I found the Sauks in small numbers, and a man named Le Main Cassee (the Crushed Hand), to whom I began to speak in your name, at which he stopped up his ears and would listen to nothing, and even ridiculed the threats you had made against the Sauks and Foxes last fall, to the effect that if you noticed that they were with the Bostonians (Americans), you would cut them off from the traders, and he answered me, he and all the others, that they

had arrows to obtain a living, and that they were not worrying about that. Not satisfied with this insolence, I was forced to leave 120 men, and I believe if they had been strong enough, they would have seized me to deliver me to the Bostonians.

"I continued on my way again with the rest of my party, to where I supposed the Feauxavoines were, as well as the Sauks from Wisconsin, who were all there, having arrived the 6th. I did not find any of your children, but I found some Bostonian Sauks. They refused my request, after I had spoken to them in your name, having received word from the rebels, and even threatened me to give information about my movements to the Bostonians. While this parleying was going on, news arrived that Governor Hamilton was captured (at Vincennes, in February). This caused murmuring in my little camp, and still the Puants and the Feauxavoines assured me that they would never forget me, their father, and that they would sooner die. For the time being it was necessary to leave there, the 7th.

"With reference to the outbreak of the Sacs, you will learn about this by inquiring of the Turtle as to what is going on. He was one of my war chiefs. I expect the Puants will see you. If Carminis appears before me, I hope you will reprimand him. He has done everything he could to stop the young Puants. I have told Quindinaque that you wish to see him to speak to him, and he has promised that he will come, and I have withdrawn a Bostonian commission which I send you in this letter, which I have the honor to write you.

"You are hereby informed that a certain person named Annigom has killed a Fox woman, and he has been killed for his crime by the Foxes. I hope shortly to have the honor to render an account of my mission and to inform you more in detail concerning these scoundrelly tribes. Allow me, sir, to assure madame of my respects. I am with a profound (illegible),

"Your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) "C. GAUTIER."

"From LaBaye, April 19, 1779."

NOTE.—The above letter was translated from the French by Prof. C. L. Esbjorn, of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. The photographic copy, a cut of which appears herewith, is from the original at the British Museum, London, England, and was secured through data given by the Wisconsin Historical Society.

à Monsieur
Le Mayor De Bayle

Boissier[illegible]

est un de nos Chef de guerre, j'attends les
noms qu'ils vont vous voir, si l'armistice se
fait devant moi; J'espère que vous lui ferez
mon salut, il a fait tout ce qu'il

signe

(Gentian)

2. La Baye Le 17 Aout 1779 }

Le Main Cassee—1778-1779

Le Main Cassee was a Sauk Indian and lived at the Watch Tower village. In certain British reports published in the Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society (Vol. XI), he is mentioned three times. In each instance he is the central figure of the scene.

The first mention is of the 7th of May, 1778, two months before the arrival in Illinois of George Rogers Clark. The scene is at Prairie du Chien, whither all the traders had come to set up their wares and deal with many tribes as they came from winter quarters and brought the season's packs of furs. Here was the throng of Indians; here and now was the time when they had more money—or valuables—than at any other time of the year. Therefore, here came all those whites who hoped to exploit the Indian in one way and another. There was drunkenness and debauchery in the extreme. Here, too, came Capt. Charles Gautier, to seek recruits for the British service. The braves were to be used against the Colonial frontiers; to attack old men, women and children, and to burn their homes, while the able-bodied were serving in General Washington's armies.

Gautier's report was written in the French language. The translation (found in Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls., p. 106) shows that in the midst of this morbid confusion of drunkenness, of murder and scalping, and attempt to draw the Indians from their homes into a white man's war, there was one native sufficiently clear headed to see through it all. This was Le Main Cassee. Of his appearance in one of the meetings, or councils, showing, incidentally, some of the difficulties of the recruiting service, Captain Gautier writes as follows:

"Such confusion was hard to put down among Indians, who charged the whites with a wish to destroy them by drink and by war. That which turned a large part of the Sakies and Renards from going down (to Canada), speaking very badly and without reserve, arising from a Sakie of the river la Roche (Rock river) named Le Main Cassee," etc. This is the first glimpse we have of this man, who is here represented as having successfully blocked, to a large extent, the recruiting among

the Sauk and Fox—and possibly other tribesmen.

The second mention is of the 4th of June, 1778, in the same report mentioned above. Here Le Main Cassee is named as one who should have some special attention, because it is expensive to the British to try to overcome his propaganda. The report speaks of **"The runners that he is constantly dispatching, even to Milwaukee; not for the good, but for the bad"**—that is, bad for the British. This report indicates that Le Main Cassee had qualities of a leader, a director, an organizer, and was working on a definite plan, through tribal co-operation, not among the Sauk and Fox only, but among the Menominees at Milwaukee, and presumably among other nations also. Fortunately for us, a glimpse of one of his delegations at work is preserved for us in the following, which is part of the same (Gautier's) report above referred to, as follows: (The scene is a Sauk village on the Wisconsin river.)

"22nd May, 1778. I arrived at the village of the Sakies and the next day I talked war. That day there arrived three Sakies of the village from the river la Roche (Rock river), **who came to speak to all the villages of Wisconsin with a so-called belt of the Bostonians.** * * They were at one end of the lodge when I began to talk at the other end, without knowing that there were some strangers in this lodge. Afterwards I was warned (by a good old woman, such is not often found) not to go to the river la Roche as I had premeditated, as I and my men would be killed."

The third reference to Le Main Cassee is in early spring of 1779, at the Watch Tower village, and is given in full on another page of this volume. The British had confidently expected to retake the Illinois country that spring. To this end Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, of Canada, had retaken Vincennes the December previous, and had planned to march to Kaskaskia and other Illinois towns on the Mississippi the spring of 1779. Here he would be joined by a war party coming down the Illinois river via Chicago and another large party to

come down the Mississippi, under command of Capt. Charles Gautier. It was the last mentioned party which successfully reached the

Watch Tower village, where it was all but broken on the rock of Le Main Cassee's personality.

The Balance of Power—1780

Captain Gautier's unhappy experience at the Watch Tower village in 1779 seemed to have cast no shadow on the ardor of the man who succeeded him, Capt. Emanuel Hesse.

The grandest scheme of the Revolutionary war period was that of the British in the attempt, in 1780, to take the entire Mississippi valley. Spain held the west side of the river, the Americans the east side. Spain had declared war on Great Britain in 1779, and, therefore, its interests were common with those of the Americans, and both had become the common enemy of the British.

The British plans included the sending of a fleet up the river from the Gulf of Mexico, to be met and assisted by forces coming down from the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi. The largest fighting force from the northern country was that under Captain Hesse. He came down the Wisconsin and the Mississippi rivers. He came as a conqueror, and on the way down to Rock river, and before reaching the Sauk and Fox there, he had "Stopped fifty tons of lead intended for the rebels" at the Sauk and Fox mines about Galena-Dubuque, and had also captured "A rebel commissary in a large armed boat, with twelve men."

Captain Hesse had about one thousand men under him, the great majority being Indians. To let any one tribe escape service with him might mean that other tribes, lacking enthusiasm for the cause, would expect to be excused also. Therefore it was important that the indifferent and unfriendly Sauk and Fox be compelled to join him. They must march whether they liked it or not.

Fortunately for the American-Spanish cause, the Watch Tower population did yield an increase in the British ranks in considerable numbers. But the British learned, to their sorrow, that a man may be compelled to march, but cannot be made to fight. Their first attack was at St. Louis, where sure victory was expected

—but the Sauk and Fox held back in such a way that other Indians feared a rear attack from them, and also dropped out of the fighting, and the grand scheme of an entire Mississippi valley conquest faded into failure. The trader, DuCharne, and interpreter, Calve, are mentioned as leaders in this "treachery," but from what we read of Le Main Cassee, of the Watch Tower village, the Sauk and Fox needed little, if any, outside leadership in holding back in the St. Louis battle. After the failure on the west side of the Mississippi, they crossed the river and attacked Cahokia and failed there, too, and then began their retreat—some up the Illinois river and others by way of the Mississippi. They did not question the cause of their defeat. It was the "perfidy" and "treachery" of the Sauk and Fox and their leaders. Had they fought loyally, all this country would have been theirs—and would doubtless have remained British.

That the Sauk and Fox on this occasion held the balance of power—and cast that balance in favor of their American friends—is the conviction of the Lieutenant Governor of Canada, Patrick Sinclair, as expressed in several letters, an extract from one of them being as follows:

"Michilimacinac, June 4, 1780.

"To Col. Mason Bolton:

"Sir:—They (the British) have brought off forty-three scalps, thirty-four prisoners, black and white, and killed about seventy persons. They destroyed several hundred cattle, **but were beat off on their attacks both sides of the river, at Pencour (St. Louis) and at Cahokia, owing to the treachery of Mr. Calve and the Sacks and Reynards (Fox).**

"**They are enraged against * * The base conduct of the Sacks (Sauk), who have been debauched by the rebels on account of their lead mines.**" (Wis. Hist. Colls. XI., 154; see also Mich. Pioneer Colls. 9, 558; Illinois Hist. Colls. VIII.)

The Westernmost Campaign of the Revolutionary War—1780

Gen. George Rogers Clark was not content with the mere defeat of the enemy at St. Louis and at Cahokia. Determined man that he was, he decided to chastise some of those who had aided the British in their grand scheme of reconquest. He promptly set about to organize a sufficiently large force to make it possible to invade the stronghold of Indian power to the north. His army was to fight and to burn the wigwams, and in general to fill the Indian mind with dread of American strength.

The French inhabitants of Illinois had been complaining bitterly of their hard lot in having to support the American soldiers at a time when they themselves were so nearly destitute. They were now called upon both for men, for money and supplies, to equip General Clark's proposed army. It required real sacrifice, but they arose to the emergency.

From both sides of the Mississippi, a total force of 350 men was recruited—the largest army under the American flag in the history of Illinois in the Revolution. They doubtless expected to march as far north as Prairie du Chien, but Black Hawk's Watch Tower was their farthest north.

Col. John Montgomery was placed in command, and his force came up the Illinois river to Peoria, from which place they marched across the prairies, doubtless following a well-worn Indian trail, and came upon the Watch Tower village. It is reported that 700 Sauk warriors were on hand here, and one can visualize the tightening of the muscle, the grim resolve of Montgomery's men as they advanced to the attack. It must have seemed as unnatural as a dream as they saw the large number of Sauks withdraw from before them and, without offering resistance, see their

homes go up in flames. Historians have contented themselves in saying that the Sauks had "so recently been defeated they had no fight left in them." A more plausible explanation is that they did not wish to enter into any bloody affray with their friends from the south. It was unfortunate, to say the least, that the Sauk, who had so recently been America's best friend, should at this time have been mistaken for an enemy.

This was the westernmost campaign of the Revolutionary war. In many respects it was true to type as experienced by the eastern armies. It had been recruited under adverse circumstances, and was so poorly supplied that Colonel Montgomery could proceed no farther. He retreated, smarting under the defeat of unpreparedness, and before reaching the French villages—their homes—they were compelled, after fasting for five days, to slaughter their horses for subsistence.

The Sauks rebuilt their village. Black Hawk at this time was a boy of thirteen years. Fifty-one years would pass and he would again see the smoke of his village burning at the hands of American soldiers. In the meantime those who served as runners in the campaign against the British—even to Milwaukee—and those whose service to the American cause was as valuable as that of any regularly enlisted patriot, and of many a commissioned officer, had passed on to the Great Spirit. In reverence and sorrow their bodies were laid to rest about their cherished homes in the beautiful Rock river country. It is well that we pause in the bustle of Twentieth Century life and give thought to those who were such friends when the new America so much needed a friend.

Indian Trails Centering at Black Hawk's Village



In Indian days, all trails led to the Sauk village, and an excellent ford was found at the foot of the Watch Tower, where Rock river flowed over a flat-rock bottom.

One of these trails, which has been located, passed up the left bank of the Mississippi, doubtless to the lead mines about Galena, which the Sauk and Fox owned, and from which the Americans and Spaniards secured lead for use during the Revolutionary war.

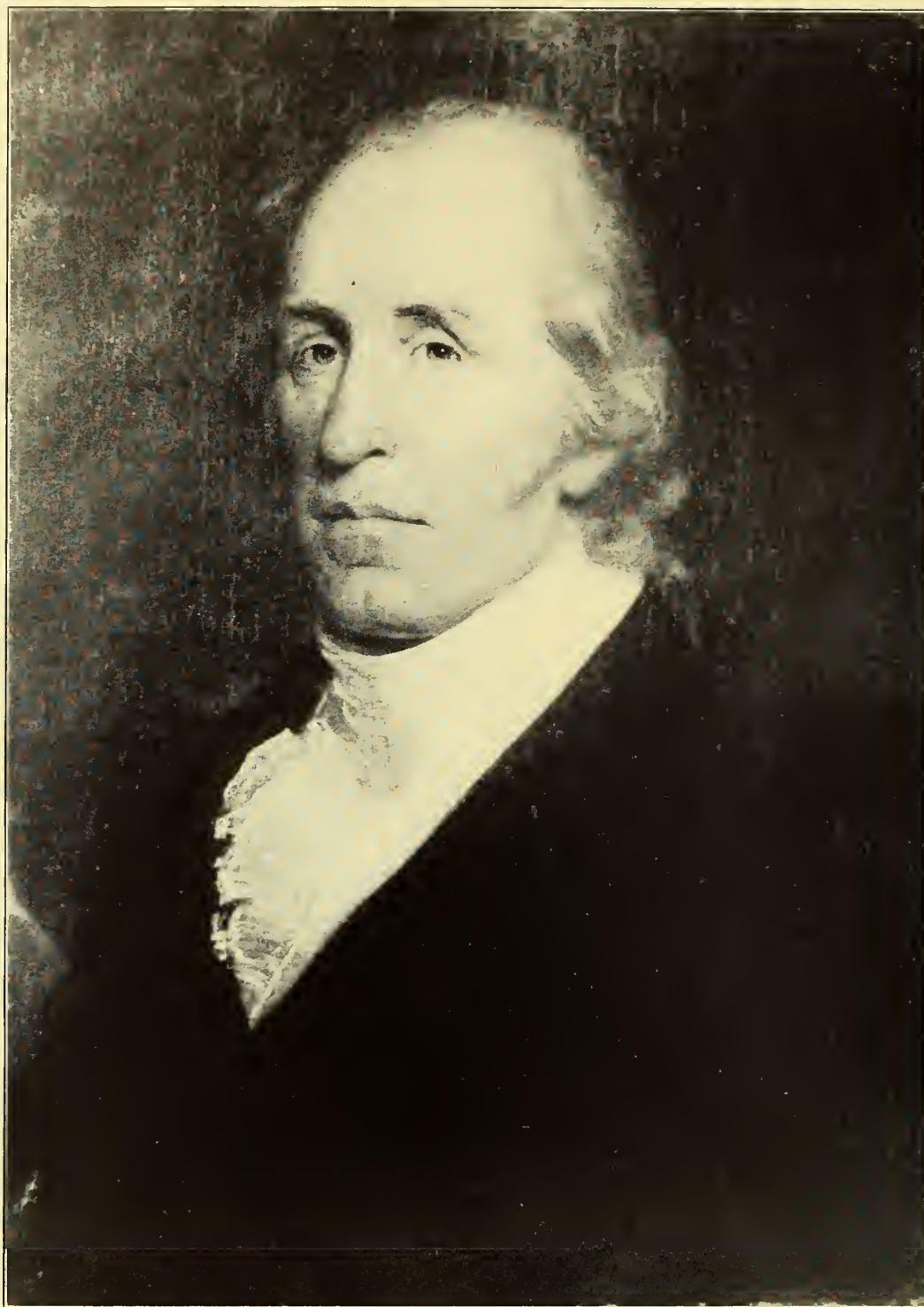
The trail to the southwest, to Oquawka, was doubtless much used by the Sauk and Fox nation in going to and from their hunting ranges in Missouri and other points. The Illinois volunteers came to the Watch Tower over this trail in both the 1831 and 1832 campaigns of the Black Hawk war.

Black Hawk's last camp near his beloved village was on the trail which followed the south

side of Rock river toward the northeast. This was in April, 1832. In May of the same year the Illinois volunteers followed him over the same trail, and it was doubtless used by Gen. Winfield Scott's regulars the following August in coming down from Dixon to Fort Armstrong.

The trail passing by Coal Valley and Crampton is known to history as "The Great Sauk Trail," and led from the village at the Watch Tower around the southern bend of Lake Michigan to Detroit and to Fort Malden, at Amherstburg, Canada. It forked somewhere near Orion, Ill., and one part of it led to Peoria. It is probable that Col. John Montgomery followed this in 1780, when, with his allied army of 350, he burned the Sauk village.

See pp. 87 to 109 of "Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society," for 1921.



Gov. William Clark, from the original portrait by Gilbert Stuart, in possession of the Missouri Historical Society

Governor Clark was one of the principals in the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Northwest. In 1814, while taking a force of American soldiers from St. Louis to attack the British fort at Prairie du Chien, and to establish an American fort there in its stead, he was attacked at Rock Island by warriors of Black Hawk's band. In the skirmish which followed

a number of canoes, arms and some Indians were taken by Clark. "Peace was granted them (the Indians) on condition they would join against the enemies of the United States and immediately commence hostilities against the Winnebagoes." The captives were ready to promise anything in order to be released. Carrying out the promise was another matter.



One of the Old Indian Trails at the Watch Tower

The Second War with Great Britain—1812-'14

On the outbreak of the second war with England, Black Hawk had reached the age of forty-five years, and was in the prime of his ability as a war chief. His home was the village at the Watch Tower, and the traditional site of his one-time wigwam is pointed out at the western end of the Watch Tower bluff. Having spent the year of 1813 as a brigadier general, as is generally believed, with the British forces operating about the Great Lakes to the coast, he returned to his village for the year 1814, and to him and his followers are accredited the following local acts of hostility to the Americans:

In May, 1814, a skirmish at Rock Island, distant three and one-half miles from the Watch Tower, with an American fleet under Governor William Clark, bound for Prairie du Chien.

On July 19th, the same year, the skirmish at the head of Rock Island Rapids, in which Capt. John Yeiser, commanding the "Governor Clark Gunboat No. 1," saved the Sutler's and Contractor's barges of Major Campbell's fleet from capture by Black Hawk's warriors.

On the same day, July 19th, Black Hawk, in person, led his braves against Brevet Major John Campbell in an all-day fight at what since has been known as Campbell's Island, in the Mississippi, nine miles distant from Black Hawk's Watch Tower. British officers reported this as "the most brilliant victory of the war won by Indians, unassisted by any whites." Sixteen Americans were killed in this battle. The State has marked this spot with a \$5,000.00 monument.



Zachary Taylor, afterwards President, was twice assigned to Military Service against the Sauks—1814, and again in 1832

In September of the same year Major Zachary Taylor was sent with a fleet of eight protected barges and 334 men to destroy Black Hawk's village; to burn the town and to uproot his growing crops; and, in addition, to select a site and build a fort which was to be a check upon the Indians of the upper Mississippi.

Black Hawk did not wait for his enemies to come within view from his Watch Tower, but had runners, who had brought word of Major Taylor's coming so far in advance of his arrival there was time to secure the assistance of a battery of British artillerists and reinforcements from the allied tribes to the north, giving him a total of about 1,500 warriors.



The Return of a Sauk War Party—By Catlin
The original is in National Museum at Washington

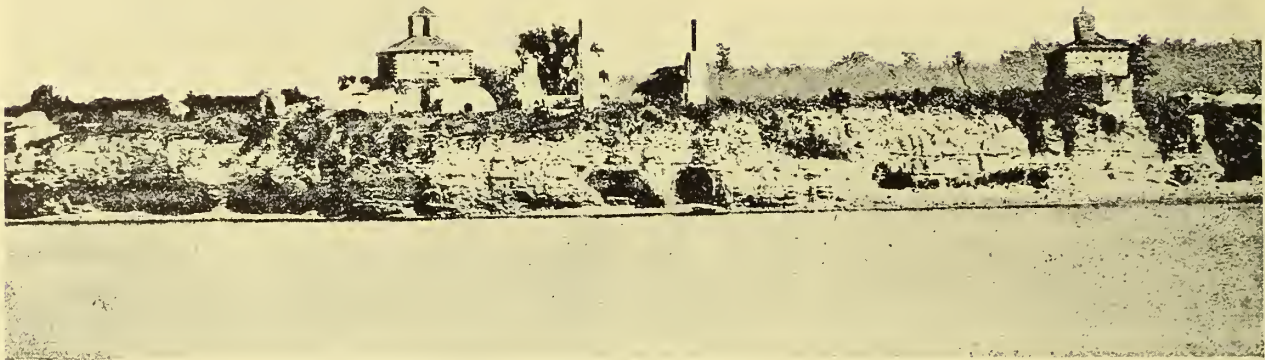
With Black Hawk not only ready, but happy at the prospect of a real battle, Major Taylor dropped anchor at Credit Island, in the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Rock river, innocent of what was in store for him.

A hard battle was anticipated, and all the women and children of the Watch Tower village were sent to the island of Rock Island for safety.

At daybreak next morning, September 6th, "so soon as they commenced firing from their artillery, the Indians raised a yell and commenced firing on us from every direction." Taylor's men, with unsurpassed bravery, landed, drove the Indians before them from a willow island, while another contingent broke up a number of the Indians' canoes; but, meanwhile, the wind was so strong the boats dragged their anchors while the British can-

non, stationed on the west bank of the Mississippi, were riddling his fleet. The British were good marksmen, and the Americans were helpless in the face of all this and were compelled to withdraw.

It is of special interest to note that all the tribes of the old northwest who fought in behalf of the British cause in the Revolutionary war had representatives in this battle of Credit Island, and, also, that in the defense of his native village and fields, Black Hawk had the help of the British. Beyond doubt, this fact helped him to believe, on the outbreak of the Black Hawk war, that he would again have all these as allies; that at least if they did not come to his village to assist in the defense, they would certainly receive him and his party in case he should be driven northward by the Americans.



Fort Armstrong—Twenty-five Years After Black Hawk War

The Building of Fort Armstrong—1816

Major Taylor's defeat, coupled with other instances in which Illinois settlements suffered, showed more than ever the necessity for having a fort to protect the settlers down State from the Indians of this quarter.

At the outbreak of the War of 1812-1814, Governor Ninian Edwards, of Illinois Territory, had pleaded with the United States authorities for soldiers and fortifications. He declared that no part of the nation had so many hostile Indians on its borders as had Illinois, and that no part of the United States was so easy of access as the Illinois settlements, for the Indians had only to paddle their canoes down the Illinois or the Mississippi rivers.

Not all of the Watch Tower Indians were hostile to the Americans in this war, and those who remained friendly were taken care of on the Missouri river, but Black Hawk's following alone was quite formidable and fought on the British side.

The Government had learned a costly lesson in sending inadequate forces to Black Hawk's headquarters. In the Campbell's Island battle 16 Americans were killed out of a total of 133 men. Major Taylor had 334 effectives in the Credit Island battle and had several wounded, one of them fatally. The Indians would not welcome a fort in their midst, and, therefore, if one was to be built there must be military strength enough to meet any opposition.

On May 10th, 1816, there landed on the island of Rock Island, a distance of three and one-half miles from the Watch Tower, Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Smith and Col. William Lawrence with 700 regulars, and the erection of Fort Armstrong proceeded under this strong guard.

The Indians declined General Smith's invitation to come and meet him in council, but after some of the soldiers had left the island—a stockade having been built—the natives professed some interest and a degree of friendship, and would come over to dance for the amusement of the troops. One day when the soldiers were largely out in the woods preparing timbers a large party of warriors, with Tah-cal-o-quoit at their head, came to where the fort was being built, approaching it from the north, and danced their way toward the entrance of the encampment. This innocent-appearing party in itself caused no alarm, but another large number of armed braves was seen coming from the south, with Keokuk, of the Watch Tower village, at their head. Immediately the bugle was sounded, recalling the men from the forest. Arms were seized, cannon were run out at the entrance ready to be fired, and it was believed that a general massacre was averted by having all in readiness before the Indians under Keokuk arrived.—(Flagler.)



A Watch Tower view, showing Paved Road to Aledo and Monmouth

The Capital of a Great Nation

The village at the Watch Tower grew in population and in prestige among the tribes of the middle west. The Sauks were fighters; their enemies felt their steel; their territorial boundaries enlarged, and the Watch Tower became a capital city of one of the richest empires of Indian days. They were bound with the Fox, or Mesquaki, into a united tribe, and it was estimated, in 1816, that there were about eleven thousand Indians belonging to the two tribes and dwelling about the Watch Tower and vicinity, making one of the largest Indian settlements to be found in the country. Their hunting grounds included most of the State of Iowa, all that part of Missouri which lies north of the Missouri river, southwestern Wisconsin, and a large part of northwestern Illinois.

This large population had a good living, derived from a variety of sources—buffalo, deer and bear furnished meat; the cultivation of

800 acres of fertile soil yielded more than their own needs and they were able to spare 1,000 bushels of corn annually, which they sold to the whites at Fort Armstrong and at Prairie du Chien. Their cash crop, or items which they could profitably trade, were furs and large quantities of lead from their mines about Galena. In addition to all these, the United States Government paid them annuities for the lands which had been purchased from them by treaty. Speaking of those prosperous years, Black Hawk, in his autobiography, says: "Then we were as happy as the buffalo on the plains."

With the friendship of the British, who continued to bestow a pension upon Black Hawk for his service in the war of 1812-1814, together with friendly tribes to the north and east, who had helped in the defeat of Major Zachary Taylor at Credit Island in 1814—with such friends and allies, what need they fear



The Old Settlers' Association of Rock Island County, at the Watch Tower—In their sixty years of organization they have clung as tenaciously to this spot for their annual meetings as the old war chief himself

from any intrusion of white settlers? True, a fort had been built practically at their front door, but forts were built for use in times of strife. The Sauk and Fox would henceforth live peaceably with the whites, and so, instead of the fort being a hindrance, it would prove a benefit, because it brought with it a resident trader, and the Indian agent, who had his office at the fort. The agent served as ambassador of the Great Father. He would issue passports, when necessary, for those who were to travel far from their hunting grounds, and arranged trips to Washington to visit the Great Father there. The agency, in addition, had on its staff an interpreter who spoke many languages, and a blacksmith especially at the service of the Red Man, to repair his guns, traps and hoes.

It was now a land of the heart's desire, as

near perfection as one could expect this side the Happy Hunting Ground. It was a time when the aged warrior could relax his vigilance; when the wise councillor of his nation and the teacher of the youth could look with pride upon the fruits of their labor. The mighty hunter and champion athlete would now be included as among the heroes. The Watch Tower, said Black Hawk, was their favorite resort. Here the throngs gathered on festive occasions; here they heard the French violinist, and here the throng, like their great leaders, could "sit and look with wonder and pleasure at the grand scenes that were presented by the sun's rays, even across the mighty water."

One would hardly find another place or tribe so rich in tradition and achievement.



Indian Bracelet, with original Rawhide Thong still attached—From Black Hawk's Burial Grounds

The Beginning of the End

A prosperous land becomes the envy of the less prosperous, and greedy palms itch to possess the valuable and the beautiful. The Sauk corn fields, hundreds of acres in extent, were in contrast to thousands of other acres where the stubborn virgin sod would require hard labor to transform it into fertile fields. A simple hoe in the hands of a woman would bring forth in the Sauk fields what would require a couple of men, a heavy, clumsy plow and from six to a dozen oxen to accomplish on the raw prairie. Therefore it was that the pioneer farmers settled upon the cultivated lands about the Watch Tower, while virgin prairies and woodland, counties and counties in extent in all directions, were passed by unoccupied.

In the fall of 1828, while the Indians were away for their annual winter hunting and trapping, the first white settlers came and moved into the Wigwams of their Red brethren.

"During the winter," says Black Hawk, "I received information that three families of whites had come to our village and destroyed some of our lodges, were making fences and

dividing our corn fields for their own use. They were quarreling among themselves about their lines of division. I started immediately for Rock river, a distance of ten days travel, and on my arrival found the report true. I went to my lodge and found a family occupying it."

This was the beginning of the end. "If a prophet had come to our village in those days," says Black Hawk, "and told us that the things were to take place which have since come to pass, none of our people would have believed him."

Black Hawk's people returned with the spring; more settlers came, and through the seasons of 1829, 1830 and the spring of 1831, Indian and white man claimed the same fields, sought to plant the same ground; destroyed each other's fences and crops, and sometimes came to blows. Most cruel to the Indian was the white intruder's heartless practice of plowing up the Indian graves. The situation was intolerable to both races, and it is a wonder that no one was killed.

A Hopeless Cause—1829-1831

Doubtless the War Chief never worked so hard in all his life as he did now, trying to solve their difficulties in such a way that his people might remain. Council after council here and at a distance was held; runners were sent to the Arkansas, Red River and Texas; delegations were sent to a great chief on the Wabash; Black Hawk, in person, visited his friends at Fort Malden, Canada, and at Detroit. Wampum belts and strands were carried to the various tribes who had helped him at Credit Island in 1814 and who had aided the British through these parts in 1779-1780. Those unfamiliar with the facts, hearing only his side of the case, naturally advised him to remain; while the commandant at Fort Armstrong, the Indian agent there, and the interpreter and trader, all advised him to the contrary.

"The prospect before us was a bad one," says Black Hawk. "I fasted and called upon the Great Spirit to direct my steps to the right path. I was in great sorrow, because all the whites with whom I was acquainted and had been on terms of intimacy advised me contrary to my wishes. * * * Our people were treated very badly by the whites on many occasions. * * *

"Our women had planted a few patches of corn, which was growing finely and promised a subsistence for our children, but the white people again commenced plowing it up. I **now determined to put a stop to it by clearing our country of the intruders. I went to their principal men and told them that they should and must leave our country.**"

This ultimatum called forth another broadside of petitions to the governor, who, besides calling out the militia, wrote to General Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at St. Louis, and also to Major-Gen. Edmund P. Gaines at Jefferson Barracks, saying: "The section of this State near Rock Island is actually invaded by a hostile band of Sauk Indians, headed by

Black Hawk, and in order to repel said invasion," etc.

General Gaines came to Fort Armstrong, and, on June 5, 1831, summoned Black Hawk and other chiefs to appear in council before him. Black Hawk and his braves appeared, "singing the war song and armed with lances, spears, war clubs, bows and arrows, as if going to battle." After a stormy session, General Gaines notified the hostiles as follows: "I came here neither to beg nor hire you to leave your village. My business is to remove you—peaceably if I can, forcibly if I must. I will now give you two days in which to remove, and if you do not cross the Mississippi by that time I will adopt measures to force you away." To which Black Hawk retorted, "I will not leave my village. I am determined not to leave it."

Like heroes of the Old Testament, Black Hawk sought the prophet for advice. In the eventful years of an active life, his had been the winning side. The word defeat was scarcely in his vocabulary. To think of losing now without an effort was out of the question.

The prophet dreamed, as prophets do, and in his dream it was shown him what must be done to melt the heart of the war chief at the Fort. Black Hawk saw to it that the prophet's directions were carried out, as follows: The daughter of a village chief was to go, staff in hand, to the war chief at Fort Armstrong and tell him that she was the daughter of one who had always been a friend to the white man. "The whites are numerous and can take the land from us if they choose, but we hope they will not be so unfriendly. If they are, I have one favor to ask—that my people be allowed to remain long enough to gather provisions now growing in the fields." The plea, eloquent with earnestness, appeared not to have had any effect on General Gaines. He was a soldier, stern in the performance of duty. After listening to her appeal, he replied: "The President did not send me here to make treaties with women nor to hold council with them."



Vandruff's Island, the scene of Expected Battle, as view from Black Hawk's Watch Tower

The Campaign of 1831

It was plain that nothing short of a superior military force would induce the Indians to leave their ancient village and fields. Governor Reynolds, of Illinois, called for volunteers. "The troops, among the best in the country, came flocking in until the number was swelled to near threefold 700, the force first called for." —(Reynolds.) They left the encampment near Rushville the 15th day of June, and in four days of a pleasant and prosperous march reached the Mississippi at the present site of Andalusia. This large body of volunteers made an impressive appearance. Governor Reynolds says of it: "The brigade organized, and marching in the large prairies toward Rock Island made a grand display." Governor Ford, in his history, says of it: "This was the largest military force of Illinoisans which had ever been

assembled in the State, and made an imposing appearance as it traversed the then unbroken wilderness of prairie."

On the banks of the Mississippi, eight miles below the Watch Tower, they were met by Gen. Edmund P. Gaines and were received into the service of the United States.

The morning of June 20th the volunteer army moved upon Black Hawk's village. The regulars, too, advanced from Fort Armstrong—some by steamboat up Rock river, and cast anchor about where the present bridges are, while nine companies of regulars, under Major John Bliss, marched to the top of Black Hawk's Watch Tower, led there by the local volunteer company of men and boys who had settled within Black Hawk's town and had now

formed a company, called the "Rock River Rangers." They planted their cannon at the brow of the Tower and cannonaded Vandruff's Island, which lay just below; the artillery aboard the steamboat doing the same. All effort was centered upon this island, as it was believed the Indians were in hiding in the dense thickets here, hoping to decoy the soldiers into an ambush.

Thomas Ford, afterward governor of Illinois, was serving with a spy battalion and was with those at the head of the skirmishers. We will let him tell the story:

"A battle was expected to be fought that day on Vandruff's Island, opposite the Indian town. The plan was for the volunteers to cross the slough onto this island; give battle to the enemy, if found there, and then to ford the main river into the town, where they were to be met by the regular force coming down

from the fort. The island was covered with bushes and vines so as to be impenetrable to the sight at the distance of twenty feet. General Gaines ran his steamboat up to the point of the island and fired several rounds of grape and canister shot into it to test the presence of the enemy. The spy battalion formed in line of battle and swept the island. The main body of the volunteers, in three columns, came following the spies. I saw the artillery force from the fort stationed on the high bluff (Black Hawk's Watch Tower) on the opposite side of the river."—(112-114 Hist. of Ill., Ford.)

Beyond question, many a volunteer that day was terribly fearful of what another moment might bring forth. The deadly fighting qualities of Black Hawk's warriors was known. More than ever would they fight with desperation now that they were defending their homes. The white man's army was at this point practically in the midst of their village.

The Indians' Escape—1831

Imposing as the Illinois volunteers appeared to their own members, they did not look less so to the Indians. Black Hawk's spies came in, reporting the approach of a war party in large numbers. A combination of regulars and volunteers was bad from the Indian's point of view. The regular might overcome an enemy, but he would respect the rights of the defeated. The volunteer was undisciplined; he could not be held in check by his superior officers, and in case of victory he would massacre indiscriminately.

The odds against the Indian were too great, and so Black Hawk was not found on the day of expected battle. In the dead of night, June 19th, a large population, with horses, dogs and all, successfully made their escape down Rock river to the Mississippi and across the broad Father of Waters to the west side.

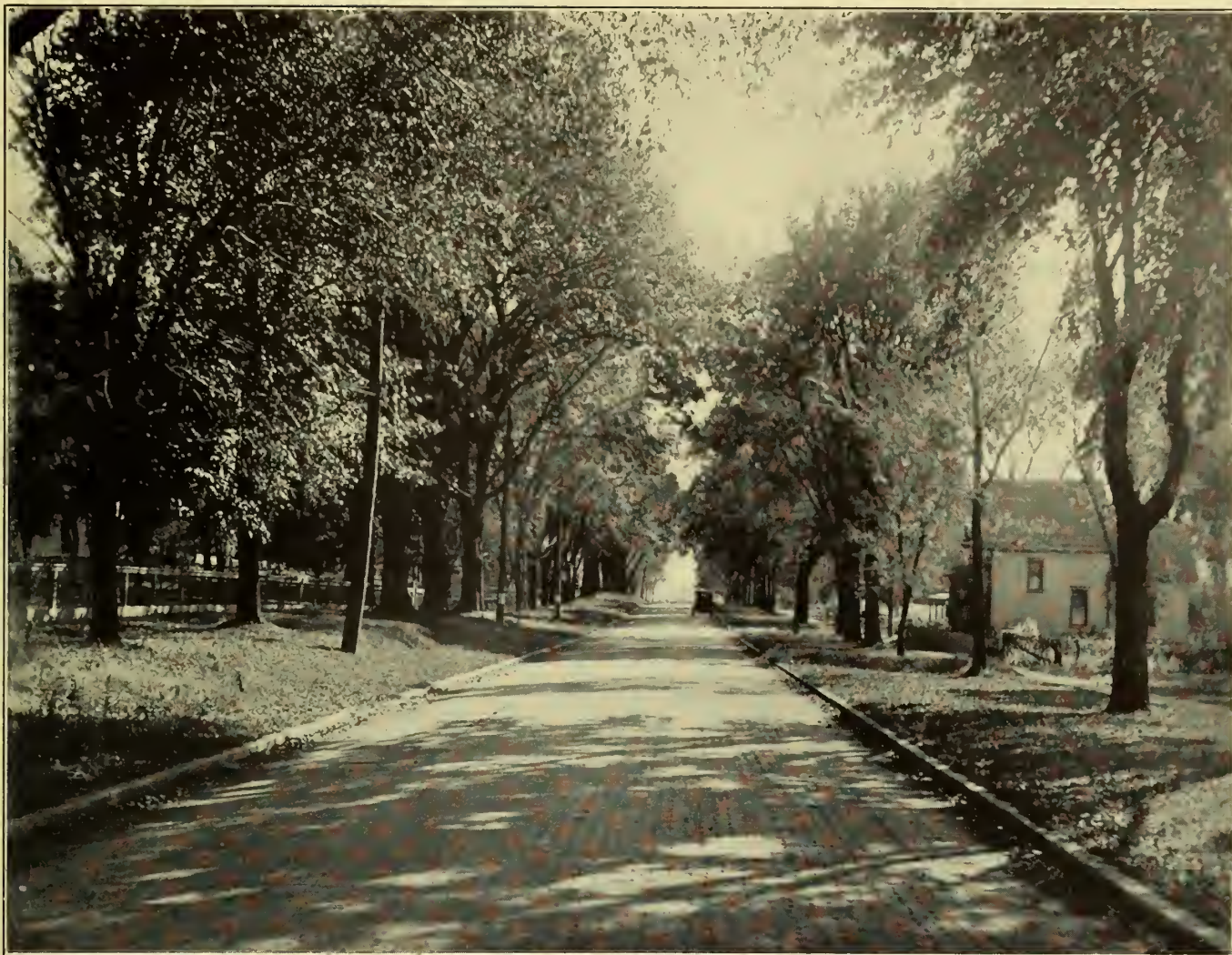
There was an army—doubtless with outposts—a few miles below, and another at the fort a couple of miles above the mouth of Rock river, and yet the escape of the Indians was not detected.

Voices carry far over quiet waters at night. The soldiers heard none. Horses and dogs must swim, and, with canoes filled with the aged and camp supplies and equipment, the

younger people, too, would have to swim the river.

A Sauk woman a few years ago related to the writer a story which showed the severity of her people in cases where extreme caution was necessary. She did not know where the incident occurred, it may have been the occasion—for it was one like it—referred to in this chapter. The story was as follows: "One time our people were making their escape down a river. There were soldiers nearby, on both sides the river, and all were cautioned to be quiet to escape detection. One of the women talked—perhaps she had left something in camp. She was warned to be quiet. She talked again. She was struck over the head with a paddle and let gently down into the water, so as not to make a splash, and was never seen again."

No one knew better than Black Hawk the slaughter of his people which would take place if the volunteers discovered them in the act of escaping across the river, and it is probable that every bosom was filled with the same dread. Only a year later the Illinois soldiery did destroy the lives of men, women and children as they were frantically trying to swim the great river to safety.



Twelfth Street, Rock Island, where it passes through the heart of the Sauk Village at Forty-fifth Avenue—This street crosses the Rock river bridges, a few hundred yards below the Watch Tower Point, and is part of the paved road to Aledo and Mounmouth

The Final Destruction of Black Hawk's Village—1831

As the Illinois volunteers, in battle array, reached the north side of Vandruff's Island, they knew that somehow Black Hawk had escaped. The terrific tension under which some of them had labored in crossing the island was relieved. Some could not have told whether they were more disappointed than pleased, for they had come for a fight.

It is believed by some that had Black Hawk and his braves been found on the island there would have been a panic among the main body of the volunteers. The spy battalion, in line of battle, evidently kept its formation, but the main body of the volunteers, which had followed the spies in three columns, became confused among bushes and vines, and "before they had got to the northern side of the island

they were so jammed up and mixed together, officers and men, that no man knew his own company or regiment, or scarcely himself." So says Ford, who was present and who wrote an account of it in his history of Illinois. It is possible that a few determined Indians could have started a stampede in an unorganized and undisciplined crowd of men.

We quote Ford as to the next step in the procedure of the army, as follows:

"The enemy having escaped, the volunteers were determined to be avenged upon something. The rain descended in torrents, and the Indian wigwams would have furnished a comfortable shelter; but notwithstanding the rain, the whole town was wrapped in flames, and thus perished an ancient village which had

once been the delightful home of six or seven thousand Indians; where generation after generation had been born, had died and been buried; where the old men had taught wisdom to the young; whence the Indian youth had often gone out in parties to hunt or to war, and then returned in triumph to dance around the spoils of the forest or the scalps of their enemies; and where the dark-eyed Indian maidens, by their presence and charms, had

made it a scene of delightful enchantment to many an admiring warrior."

With nothing left to destroy, the volunteers went into camp for the night, and next morning marched to Rock Island.

Thus, without bloodshed, ended the 1831 campaign of the Black Hawk war. But in the strains of victory there was this discordant note:

"He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day."

Black Hawk Touches the Goose Quill—1831

The regulars, when it was found that the Indians had escaped, returned to Fort Armstrong. The volunteers, next morning, came from the ruins of Black Hawk's town and marched to Rock Island, grandly indifferent to trails, pasture or field, and thus destroyed some of the fields of wheat across which they rode, 1,600 strong.

Setting up camp where the City of Rock Island now stands, they fed their camp-fires with rails from the farmers' fences. One of the farmers had twenty acres in corn and potatoes, and took his complaint to headquarters. Governor Reynolds and General Gaines, with a high sense of their responsibility, visited the field, warned them not to take the fences, and then turned their backs and proceeded to other business. The volunteers "to the number of 400 or 500, took each a rail on his shoulder and marched behind the governor and general into camp. By this operation," relates the pioneer farmer, "I lost all my crop, * * the soldiers doing me ten times as much damage as the Indians had ever done."

There were other diversions. The 1,600 horses of the volunteers were being herded for the night at a bend in the Mississippi just below their camp. Up came a steamboat and

blew its whistle. The horses stampeded and scattered for miles, so that Black Hawk's old village site was again filled with a swarm of soldiers, this time hunting their mounts.

Of real importance, however, was the council held at Fort Armstrong. General Gaines let it be known to the fugitive war chief that he would not trifle with his whims. Either he would come to the fort voluntarily or the soldiers would be sent for him.

"In a few days," says Reynolds, "Black Hawk and the chiefs and head men to the number of twenty-eight appeared in Fort Armstrong, and on the 30th of June, 1831, in full council with General Gaines and myself signed the treaty." In this treaty Black Hawk and his men agreed, among other things, to reside west of the Mississippi; never to return to the east side of the Mississippi without express permission of the proper authorities. They were to abandon all communication with the British; never again to admit among them any trader other than those licensed by the Americans, and to submit peaceably to those Sauk and Fox chiefs who were friendly to the United States. "I touched the goose quill to this treaty," says Black Hawk, "and was determined to live in peace."



Showing a Bit of the 173 Acres of the Watch Tower Tract as it Appears Today—It is rich in Forest, Wild Flowers and Bird Life

1832 Black Hawk War—The Alarm

The second year of the Black Hawk war is an entirely different story from that of the 1831 campaign. There was much bloodshed, several hundred whites and nearly a thousand Indians losing their lives. The severe hardships of the war were participated in by such well-known soldiers as Gen. Winfield Scott, Gen. Henry Atkinson and Col. Zachary Taylor. There were others whose names were to be written prominently in the nation's annals, but who, in this campaign, were making their first appearance on the stage of warfare. Among these were Capt. Abraham Lincoln, Lieut. Jefferson Davis, Lieut. Robert Anderson, Lieut. Albert Sydney Johnston and Lieut.

Joseph Eggleston Johnston, all of them to become stars of the first magnitude in the Civil war.

It appears from his autobiography that Black Hawk had decided, now that he had been forced from his village, to make the most of his exile: "I called upon the Indian Agent and requested him to have a small log house built for me, and a field plowed that fall, as I wished to live retired. He promised to have it done. I then went to the trader, Colonel Davenport (who had purchased the Watch Tower lands) and asked him for permission to be buried in the graveyard at our village, among my old friends

and warriors, which he gave cheerfully. I then returned to my people satisfied."

The spirit of Black Hawk seems to have been effectively humbled, but not so with his chief lieutenants, Neapope and the Prophet. They were younger in years, had more of the buoyancy and recklessness of youth, and eager for a real trial at arms with the whites. The name "Black Hawk" had a prestige, and this they would capitalize and have him lead the cause. He was perfectly willing, eager, in fact, as they assured him that the British had promised guns, ammunition, provisions and clothing early in the spring, and that the wampum and tobacco had been received from the powerful nations on the Great Lakes, the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatomies, and as for the Winnebagoes, they were all at his command.

"I thought over everything," says the autobiography, "and was pleased to think that by a little exertion on my part I could accomplish all my wishes. * * * I concluded I had better keep my band together and recruit as many more as possible, so that I would be prepared to make the attempt to rescue my village in the spring."

BLACK HAWK CROSSED THE MISSISSIPPI!

Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi on April 6th, 1832, and headed northward toward his old village at the Watch Tower. With him were 500 well armed and well mounted braves. The old men, women and children of his party traveled in canoes toward the same goal.

This was the most startling piece of news since the declaration of war with Great Britain in 1812. Runners carried the news to the remotest part of the old northwestern wilderness. Ambitious warriors hailed it as an opportunity to win glory; wise old chiefs considered well their patriotic duty and prospects of success.

In the State of Illinois, "the whole northern frontiers were alarmed, and almost daily messengers reached my residence in Belleville with the above information. * * * It spread a general panic throughout the whole frontiers, from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan. * *

Many settlers, in the greatest terror of the Indians, abandoned their homes and farms, and moved into the interior of the State," so wrote Governor Reynolds.

In Indiana and Michigan, "Everywhere preparations were made for the emergency. Farmers were obliged to abandon their spring work, and instead of plowing and planting, were summoned to meet with such arms as they could command at some rendezvous, and then prepare by organization and drilling for the expected emergency." In southern Michigan "the stages, which had been overcrowded with land seekers, were taken off for want of passengers, * * * and many families that intended to make Michigan their home were caused to settle in Ohio instead." (2 M. P. C., 294-5.) In the country near Battle Creek, Michigan, "The community, both whites and Indians, were exceedingly excited. * * * Five hundred Indians met in council within twenty-five miles of Dry Prairie, and the whites were called upon for defense of the country." Governor Brown ordered the militia to be called out. A company of volunteers was raised near Detroit, which started for the seat of war on foot.

In Missouri, "The horrible atrocities committed by the Indians alarmed the whole of the pioneer settlers and they deserted their homes * * * leaving their homes and property unprotected. The Governor ordered Major-General Gentry to raise, without delay, one thousand mounted volunteers for the defense of the frontiers, to be held in readiness to start at a moment's warning." (101, Hist. Mo., Davis & Dorrie.)

"Eleven tribes had confederated in this war and agreed to stand by the Sauk chief," says Schoolcraft (1. Minn. Hist. Soc. Colls., p 97).

In general, one fancies that the following described scene was typical of those days, and one which was repeated over and over again in many communities, as follows:

"A man came from the west on horseback as fast as he could ride, with his horse white with lather and foam, and yelling at the top of his voice, 'Black Hawk and his redskins. They are coming, murdering men, women and children'." (6 Mich. Pioneer Collections, p. 239.)



The Sauk and Fox Were Fighters—By Catlin
The original in National Museum at Washington, D. C.

Faith, Hope and Courage—1832

"Black Hawk and his people crossed the Mississippi at Burlington and came up, as usual, with their canoes and horses," says John W. Spencer, who in the past three and a half years had become well acquainted with them and their customs. He had lived in the same village with them. He knew their troubles, and sympathized with them.

The Indians moved up the Mississippi slowly, keeping together as much as possible. As they were encamped eight miles below the Watch Tower, where Andalusia is today, a steamboat passed up the river bearing Gen. Henry Atkinson and a regiment of regulars to Fort Armstrong. "Our party became alarmed," says Black Hawk, "expecting to meet the sol-

diers at Rock river to prevent us from going up. On our arrival at its mouth, about six miles from Andalusia, we discovered that the steamboat had passed on.

"I was fearful that the War Chief (Atkinson) had stationed his men on some high bluff or in some ravine, that we might be taken by surprise. Consequently, on entering Rock river we commenced beating our drums and singing, to show the Americans we were not afraid."

As they came in sight of the Watch Tower one can imagine them straining their eyes to see if soldiers were in evidence, for they would recall that a year before they saw the smoke



Toward the Upper End of the Watch Tower

of cannon rising from the Tower as Vandruff's Island was being swept with grape and canister. The Watch Tower was probably the place Black Hawk had in mind when he said they feared General Atkinson had stationed his men on a high bluff.

"When Black Hawk and his people were nearly up to where Milan now stands (just across from the Watch Tower) I crossed the river by fording, to see if I could ascertain their movements. The first Indians I saw were four young men. They had fine looking guns and seemed to be well armed. One of them was Black Hawk's son, Na-se-us-kuk, who was one of the finest looking Indians I ever saw. He was about thirty years of age and a splendid looking fellow. I asked him where they were going. He answered by saying, 'May be they should go over to their old village, or they might stop where they were, or go up Rock

river to Prophetstown.' Na-se-us-kuk asked me if there were many soldiers at the fort. I told him there were a great many."—(Spencer.)

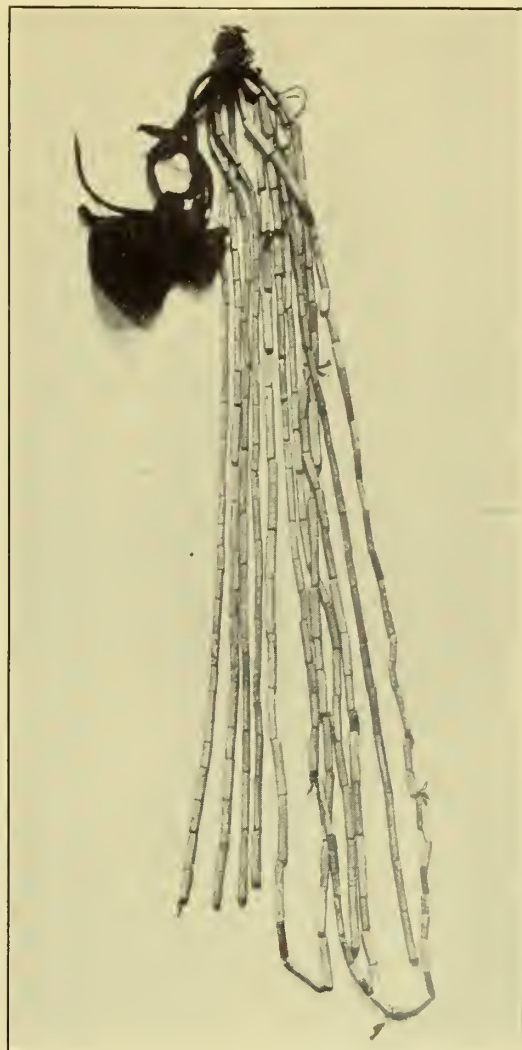
They made camp at the upper edge of their old village, about the place where the line between Moline and Rock Island strikes Rock river, and that night Black Hawk and his braves rode over the wooded bluffs and forded the slough to the island of Rock Island. The watchmen stationed at the ford recognized Black Hawk—perhaps the recognition was mutual—and hastened to the fort to give the alarm. A violent snow-storm was in progress, and with it, so it is said, was lightning and thunder. This, coupled with some cannon shot at the fort greatly alarmed the settlers, who were gathered within a stockade at the Trader's establishment, a half mile from the fort. They believed a battle was in progress. But the In-

dians withdrew without making any demonstration, and quietness again settled over the scene.

"The next morning," says Spencer, "at the old fort we could hear them beating their drums and singing so plainly that they seemed but a short distance from us. They were probably five miles distant, and it was quite remarkable, the country being so hilly between them and us, that we should hear them so distinctly."

General Atkinson sent an express after the Indians, demanding that they return to the west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk sent reply, he would not return. Another express was sent, as the Indians continued up Rock river, and this aroused the fighting spirit of the warriors, and the reply went back, "If you wish to fight, come on."

They continued up Rock river to the town of the Prophet, forty miles above the Watch Tower. Every step of the horse, every stroke of the paddle took them nearer those who had urged them to come and be friends and neighbors. Here they would probably remain for the summer and grow their usual crop of corn, beans, pumpkins and other vegetables. The presence of General Atkinson and his regulars at Fort Armstrong had made their present plans uncertain. One thing, however, was sure. They had the pledge of a dozen tribes that they would stand together in defense of their rights, and over all was the assurance that their British father, as of old, was still their friend. Though they were wanderers for the



Strands of Wampum with a Package of Kinickinick and Some Vermillion Attached

This was sent to Chief Robinson, of the Potawatomies, by Black Hawk in 1832. This relic is in possession of Chicago Historical Society.

present, there was much to warm the heart, to give strength to their bodies, and to enlarge their faith, hope and courage.

Disillusioned—1832

Just one month had passed since the Sauks had come up the Mississippi and entered the mouth of Rock river, beating their drums and singing to show the Americans they were not afraid. They were now aware that they had been betrayed. There was no hope left of any assistance, and with the country filled with pale-face soldiers, only one course was open. To surrender; to acknowledge their betrayal; to return to the west side of the Mississippi, never again to return.

The entire affair of the 1832 campaign thus far was no different from that of campaigns,

political and otherwise, except for actual lives involved, of thousands of men of all nationalities and races. A man with a lifelong reputation for honesty and sound judgment invests his all, under persuasion—and loses. His neighbor, with the same reputation, is induced to run for office. All his acquaintances pledge support. He cannot believe his eyes when the election returns come in, and cries, "I've been betrayed."

The speed with which the whites had taken up arms when news of Black Hawk's crossing the Mississippi was sent abroad; the great



Hikers on Watch Tower Grounds—It is not Unusual to Unearth Indian Remains in Excavations for Buildings, etc.

number of volunteers from all sides, and their grim determination, had a deadening effect upon the spirit of those who had promised support to the Sauks, and with one accord all promises were ignored.

To Black Hawk's people there was the bitterness of gall. At Prophetstown, the very first Indian village above the Watch Tower, where lived the Prophet, who had, perhaps, more than any other one person, been responsible for inducing the Sauk to return; where of all places they should have been welcomed, they were met with a chill. The indignant Black Hawk asked: "Did you not send us wampum, and request us to come?" The Prophet's village was left with a heavy heart. The reception was all so different from what they had expected.

Pursuing his quest further, Black Hawk next arranged a meeting with Chief Shabbona, of the Potawatomies, and, that all might be in regular form, he prepared a dog feast for the occasion. It is believed that Shabbona, like most of the others, had given encouragement to Black Hawk's coming, but whether or not, he was now aware that the cause was hopeless and wanted to take his place with the winning side. He refused to support the invaders. It was the last straw.

With the Winnebagoes and the Potawatomies cold and refusing to have anything to do with him and his people, Black Hawk knew it was useless to go farther. He would admit defeat. He would return to the west of the great river, as the white man required.

Warfare to the Bitter Dregs—1832

Again the wide prairies saw the imposing array of Illinois mounted volunteers, 1,800 strong, the largest army which had ever been seen in Illinois. Having covered a distance of fifty miles that day, they went into camp at the foot of the bluff opposite Black Hawk's Watch Tower. On the third day of their encampment here, on May 9th, Gen. Henry Atkinson came from Fort Armstrong and received the volunteers into the service of the United States.

On May 10th, 1832, the Watch Tower had its last view of these men enlisted to fight for its possession. The 1,800 volunteers had mounted their horses and the busy camp scenes faded from view as the line followed the Indian trail up Rock river in pursuit of Black Hawk.

The regulars, together with great quantities of military supplies, were taken on keel-boats. There had been difficulty in getting the large boats over the rapids of Rock river directly at the foot of the Watch Tower, but they, too, were now on their way up-stream.

The volunteers traveling with greater speed, reached the Prophet's town, forty miles distant, in the course of the day, and destroyed the Winnebago village there, and then continued toward Dixon, where they met two battalions of Illinois volunteers under Maj. Isiah Stillman. As the last named had been at Dixon for some time and were weary of waiting, they were given orders to move ahead to see if Black Hawk could be located. It was this body of volunteers which made the initial contact with the braves of Black Hawk's band.

Now, completely disillusioned, Black Hawk set about to see how he could retreat to the west of the Mississippi. Learning that white soldiers were near, he sent three of his braves, with a white flag, to arrange for a meeting between him and the commander of the whites. Then he sent five other braves to observe, from a distance, what kind of a reception the first three were having.

Some say the soldiers were drunk with liquor. It is probable their minds had been so wrought upon with bad Indian stories they had ceased to think of an Indian as human.

At any rate, a white flag meant nothing to them. They crowded about the three messengers and commenced shooting them. One was killed. The other two escaped through the crowd. Of the five observers, two were killed. This was the first bloodshed of the Black Hawk war, and was the spark which set the north-western part of Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin afire with lust for blood.

Before the day ended on this 14th of May, 1832, eleven men of Major Stillman's battalion were cold in death. His undisciplined men thoughtlessly charged without any order or formation to where they believed they would find Black Hawk's warriors. Unfortunately for them, they did come upon the Indians, and Black Hawk with his braves burst forth from the bushes with savage fury, and the white man's army retreated in utter rout, leaving their dead behind.

There followed a period of two months and eighteen days of cruel warfare, with all the hardship of a wilderness campaign, and then came the final scene at the battle of the Bad Axe, August 2, 1832, which ended the war. In the meantime there occurred the massacre of fifteen whites on Indian Creek, near Ottawa, and the kidnapping by the Indians of two young ladies, the Hall sisters. There were the battles of the Pecatonica, Apple river fort, Kellogg's Grove, Wisconsin Heights, and many an affair in which but a few participated, but which cost the lives of some of those engaged in it. All told, about 150 Americans were killed in battle (and 250 died of the cholera), and of Black Hawk's estimated 1,000 followers, only about 150 escaped to the west of the Mississippi.

At no time during the war was any substantial aid given Black Hawk by those tribes who had agreed to stand with him against the white man. Some individual Winnebagoes, some Potawatomes who had personal grudges, and some friendly Kickapoos lent some assistance. Chief Shabbona turned traitor to his race and joined the white army, and the Sioux, who had long been enemies to the Sauk and Fox, were on the west bank of the Mississippi at the time of the battle of the Bad Axe and fell



The Last Indian Survivor of the Black Hawk War—Mrs. Mary Keokuk
She was but a child, and remembered being carried over the Wisconsin river on her mother's back as she swam to safety. The battle of Wisconsin Heights was in progress at the time.

upon those who escaped across the river, where they massacred all they could find.

As has generally, if not always, been the case in wars between the Indians and Americans, the latter, in the Black Hawk war, had the advantage of an organized source of food and other supplies. Black Hawk was without

such service, and had largely to depend upon successful raids and battles. Early in the strife, with his promised allies failing him, he saw that his only hope lay in escaping to the Mississippi and recrossing to safety.

A part of the white man's story may be gleaned from the various incidents given in

this volume of the services of individual men. For a detailed account the reader is referred to the books mentioned herein.

Even the brief statement contained in this volume would hardly serve its purpose without giving a word picture out of Black Hawk's side of the unequal contest. It is copied from his autobiography, as follows:

"During our encampment at the Four Lakes (about Madison, Wis.) we were hard pressed to obtain enough to eat to support nature. Situated in a swampy, marshy country, which had been selected in consequence of the great difficulty required to gain access thereto, there was but little game of any sort to be found, and fish were equally scarce. * * * We were forced to dig roots and bark trees to obtain something to satisfy hunger and keep us alive. Several of our old people became so reduced as to actually die with hunger. Learning that the army had commenced moving, and fearing that they might come upon and surround our encampment, I concluded to remove our women and children across the Mississippi, that they might return to the Sac nation again. * * * We had commenced crossing the Wisconsin when we discovered a large body of the enemy coming towards us. We were now compelled to fight or sacrifice our wives

and children to the fury of the whites. I met them with fifty warriors, having left the balance to assist our women and children in crossing, about a mile from the river, on a fine horse, and was pleased to see my warriors so brave. * * * I addressed them in a loud voice, telling them to stand their ground and never yield it to the enemy." * * *

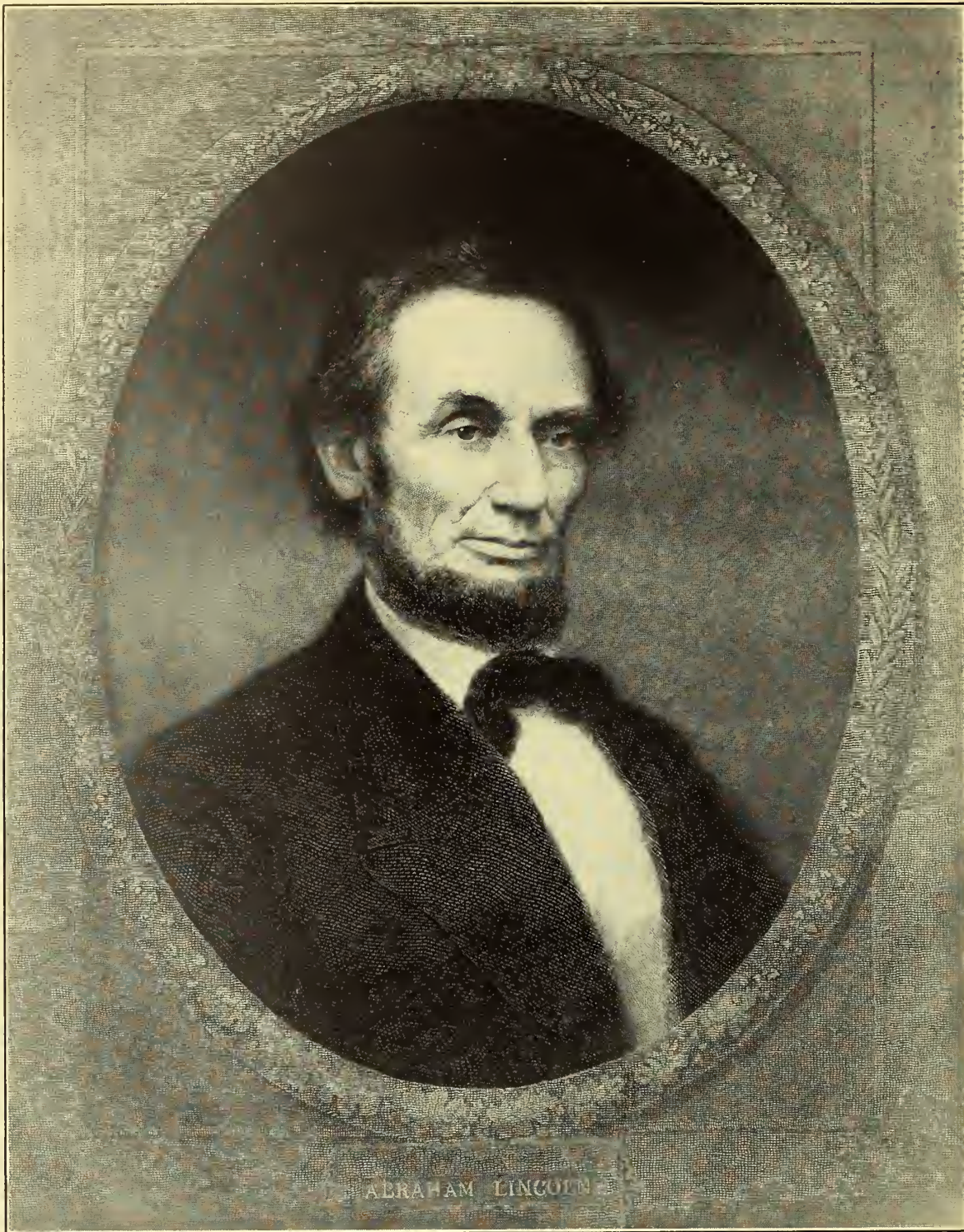
"In this skirmish, with fifty braves I defended and accomplished my passage over the Wisconsin with a loss of only six men, though opposed by a host of mounted militia. I would not have fought there, but to gain time for our women and children to cross to an island. A warrior will duly appreciate the embarrassments I labored under—and whatever may be the sentiment of the white people in relation to this battle, my nation, though fallen, will award to me the reputation of a great brave in conducting it." (p. 112, Autobiography.)

"Here some of my people left me and descended the Wisconsin. But few of this party escaped. Soldiers from Prairie du Chien were stationed near the mouth of the Wisconsin, who fired on our distressed people. Some were killed, others drowned, several taken prisoners, and the balance escaped to the woods and perished with hunger."

The End—At the Bad Axe

"Early in the morning, August 2, a party of whites, being in advance of the army, came upon our people, who were attempting to cross the Mississippi. They tried to give themselves up; the whites paid no attention to their entreaties, but commenced slaughtering them. In a little while the whole army arrived. Our braves, but few in number, finding that the enemy paid no regard to age or sex, and seeing

that they were murdering helpless women and little children, determined to fight until they were killed. As many women as could commenced swimming the Mississippi with their children on their backs; a number of them were drowned and some shot before they could reach the opposite shore." (p. 115, Autobiography.)



Captain Abraham Lincoln was Sworn into Federal Service by General Atkinson at the Camp
Opposite the Watch Tower on May 9th, 1832

Abraham Lincoln

Captain in Black Hawk War; Congressman, and President

Abraham Lincoln's service to his nation began just across Rock river opposite Black Hawk's Watch Tower. Here he became an officer in the United States volunteer army, one of the proudest positions, according to his own testimony, that he ever held. He was not trained for the army, and when, in 1861-65, he

was commander-in-chief of the national forces, his only actual experience was what he had gained in the campaign against Black Hawk. The Indian war was of short duration, and Captain Lincoln did not stay in the service to its end. He did, however, pass through practically every experience common to a war cam-



Site, on the Level Plain Below, of the Camp of the Illinois Volunteers, May 7 to 10, 1832

Additional interest in this site is found in the fact that Abraham Lincoln, as Captain, with his Company, were a part of the life of the camp. Here Gen. Henry Atkinson came and administered the oath which placed the Volunteers under command of the United States Army officers. Black Hawk's Watch Tower appears in the background of the picture, with a glimpse of Rock river between.

paign, excepting only that of combat. He had, perhaps, the most trying part even of what goes with actual combat, namely, keeping his place in line, his finger on the trigger, with the enemy approaching at but a few yards distant. On they came, in overwhelming number. It tried men's nerves—and then—they proved to be friends and the strain was over. On two occasions he helped bury the dead on the field of battle.

Let us take a closer view of this national hero, one of the greatest the world has known, and follow him as he rides through the mud, slushes through the swollen streams, suffers the pangs of hunger, views the melancholy sight of the dead, scalped, comrades-in-arms, and finally gives up the pursuit, as he believes the Indians have gotten beyond the prospect of the army's ever catching up with them.

The army of volunteers having been organized, left their camp near Rushville and started for Black Hawk's village on Rock river, via Oquawka. We will copy details of the trip as

recorded by Gov. John Reynolds, who accompanied the expedition:

"Early on a cold morning, the 27th of April (1832), the army commenced its march. * * The earth was very wet and muddy; there being no roads, it gave the troops trouble in marching and crossing the muddy streams without bridges. We reached Henderson river, which was high, the water running to the top of the banks * * * and ran like a mill-tail. No bridge, boats, or any mode to cross it, except by rafting and swimming the horses, and an army of almost 2,000 strong stopped at it. A great portion of the volunteers had been raised in the backwoods, and rafting and swimming streams were familiar to them. * * * Trees from each side were cut and felled into the stream, so that their tops lapped and made a footing on which some crossed. * * * We had little or no provisions * * * a wagon or two were lost in the river and one horse was drowned. We reached Yellow Banks and found no provisions. * * * A critical

situation. * * * A large army, a considerable distance out in the wilderness, and three days with literally nothing to eat."

After three days without food, the longed-for steamboat arrived with an abundance of provisions. The next morning, the 7th of May, the army continued on its way, and after a march of fifty miles that day, went into camp at the south edge of Black Hawk's village, where they remained a few days.

This camp doubtless was the most care-free and enjoyable of any in the war experiences of Abraham Lincoln. For the time being they were in the midst of peace and plenty, with time to visit the remains of Black Hawk's village, or to climb the Watch Tower; to see Fort Armstrong, which was a sight the like of which many had never before seen, and to do shopping at the Indian Trading Post of George Davenport. It is a matter of record that some of these places were visited by the volunteers. It is a matter of record, too, that a variety of sports and escapades were indulged in, and Lincoln's name is connected with some of these. It could only be with a feeling of added security that the volunteers witnessed the presence of the regulars, and the loading of great barges with cannon and other military equipment and supplies.

Perhaps the most impressive of all to the eager, ambitious young Lincoln, now twenty-three years of age, was his reception into the service of the United States, and with it, the fact of being captain of his company. General Atkinson had performed the ceremony necessary to their entrance upon national service on the 9th of May.

Next morning, the 10th, the long procession passed the Watch Tower and was on its way up Rock river. They reached the Prophet's town, forty miles away, the same day and burned the village of the Winnebagoes there, and proceeded toward Dixon, arriving there the 12th.

At Dixon the volunteers for the first time came face to face with the meaning of war. As the refugees from Stillman's defeat came straggling in, the campaign took on a more serious aspect. We will again quote from Governor Reynold's report:

"About one o'clock of the morning of the 15th * * * stragglers who had escaped from the battle reached camp and narrated such horrid and tragical stories of the disaster with the Indians that it was truly alarming and shocking. Soldiers arrived in utter confusion * * * those narrating the disaster generally believed and stated they were about all that had escaped.

"Early in the morning of the 15th of May * * * the army marched to the battle ground. It was about twenty-five miles from Dixon, and when we reached the scene, in the evening, it looked melancholy and appalling to the troops who had for the first time witnessed such a sight. The bodies of the volunteers who had been killed were mostly cut and mangled in a horrid manner. Many horses also lay dead on the scene of action. All the bodies and parts of bodies that could be found were buried, and the army remained on the ground all night.

"The volunteers had not arranged to remain in the service long, as they expected the Indians would be chastised in a few days. They had no clothes with them, and many of their families were not provided for at home * * * the terms of their enlistment was undefined and they had the power to return. The army mostly disbanded."

Governor Reynolds now issued a call for 2,000 new volunteers, and those who remained of the first levy were re-organized for further duty.

Captain Lincoln's company being now disbanded, he enlisted as a private and served in the company of Maj. Elijah Iles, whose report we follow from now on, for if the ex-Captain Lincoln kept a diary or wrote his experiences afterward it has not come to the notice of his biographers. Major Iles' report has the following statement:

"A man came in to Col. Zachary Taylor's camp at Dixon and reported that he and six others were on the road to Galena, and in passing through a point of timber * * * were fired upon and the six killed, he being the only one to make his escape.

"Taylor ordered a company to proceed to the place, bury the dead and go on to Galena. The company took fright and came back to



Rock River, at Black Hawk's Village

the Illinois river helter skelter," and now Colonel Taylor asked Major Iles if he would undertake this service. The task was accepted, and so Lincoln became a party to an undertaking which required daring.

"The next day was a busy one, running bullets and getting our flintlocks in order. We numbered forty-eight men. * * * We took nothing that could be dispensed with, other than blankets, tin cups, coffee pots, canteens, a wallet of bread and some fat side meat, which we ate raw or broiled. * * * Just at sundown the first day our advance scouts came in under whip and reported Indians. We bounced to our feet and, having a full view of the road for a long distance, could see a large body coming toward us. * * * John Dixon pronounced them Indians. I stationed my men in a ravine crossing the road where anyone approaching could not see us until within thirty yards; the horses I had driven back out of sight in a valley. I asked General Henry to take command; he said no, stand at your post, and walked along the line talking to the men in a low, calm voice. Lieutenant Harris, U. S. A., seem much agitated; he ran up and down the line and exclaimed, 'Captain, we will catch h—ll.' He had horse pistols, belt pistols and a double-barreled gun. He would pick the flints, reprime, and laid the horse pistols at his feet. * * * Instead of Indians, they proved to be the command of General Dodge, from Galena, with 150 men, en route to find out what had

become of General Atkinson's army * * * they had no word from him for ten days. * * * When we got within fifteen miles of Galena, on Apple river, we found a stockade filled with women and children and a few men, all terribly frightened. The Indians had shot at and chased two men that afternoon, who made their escape to the stockade. They insisted on our quartering in the fort, but instead we camped 100 yards outside, and slept, what little sleep we did get, with our guns in our arms. General Henry did not sleep, but drilled my men all night, so the moment they were called they would bounce to their feet and stand in two lines, the front ready to fire and fall back to reload while the others stepped forward and took their places. They were called up a number of times, and we got but little sleep. On our return from Galena, * * * six of Colonel Dodge's scouts had discovered my two men that I had allowed to drop in the rear. Having weak horses, they had fallen in the rear about two miles, and each took the other to be Indians, and such an exciting race I never saw until they got sight of my company; then they came to a sudden halt, and after looking at us a few moments wheeled their horses and gave up the chase. My two men did not know but that they were Indians until they came up with us and shouted 'Indians.' They had thrown away their wallets and guns and used their ramrods as whips.

"The few houses on the road that usually accommodated the travel were all standing, but vacant, as we went. On our return we found them all burned by the Indians."

Captain Iles' company was mustered out June 16th, and on the same day Lincoln re-enlisted, this time in the company of Scouts under Capt. Jacob M. Early, and was kept very busy hunting through the wilderness for Black Hawk and his braves. It was not merely a game of hide and seek. On all sides blood was flowing. Soldiers and settlers alike were dying in battle, or being picked off singly or in small groups by the Indians. Lincoln could not know whether he would live to see another day.

With his command he arrived at Kellogg's Grove on June 25th, just after a battle there, and helped to bury the five men who had been killed. In after years, Lincoln said of the scene: "I remember just how those men looked as we rode up the little hill where their camp was. The red light of the morning sun was streaming upon them as they lay, heads toward us, on the ground. Every man had a round, red spot on top of his head about as big as a dollar, where the redskins had taken off his scalp. It was frightful, but it was grotesque, and the red sunlight seemed to paint everything all over. I remember one man had on buckskin breeches."—(From "Lincoln and New Salem.")

While Lincoln and his comrades were thus engaged—scouting, drilling, defending, and the incidental burial of the dead—the new army had been organized and had taken the field in pursuit of Black Hawk and his band. It seemed like hunting the traditional needle-in-the-haystack. Farther and farther into the wilderness were they drawn, and chances of ever coming up with the Indians became more and more remote. We quote again from Governor Reynolds' record:

"On the 4th of July the main army lay on the banks of Lake Koshkonong, which is an enlargement of Rock river, and experienced a melancholy and sadness of feeling indescribable. The provisions wasting away—almost gone—and the enemy not chastised. Two or three thousand fine soldiers under arms and nothing done caused reflections in the breasts of the officers, and many privates, that were

extremely mortifying and painful. But what could be done? We were almost hunting a shadow.

"On the 10th of July, in the midst of a considerable wilderness, the provisions were exhausted, and the army forced to abandon the pursuit of the enemy for a short time. * * * Knowing the extreme uncertainty of ever reaching Black Hawk by these slow movements, caused most of the army to believe we would never overtake the enemy."

At this point Abraham Lincoln, and others who became prominent in the affairs of the State and Nation, left the army and returned to their homes. It was their opinion that the Indians would never be overtaken, and further effort would be a waste of time and money.

To Abraham Lincoln the Black Hawk war was a rare opportunity, as war has ever been to thousands of others in all time. Whether volunteer or drafted, it is the same. It lifts one from the rut; arouses him from the humdrum of existence and thrusts him into a new—a wider world, teeming on all sides with new adventure, new associations, a new outlook, and possibly a new philosophy of life.

Never again would Lincoln be content with village life. The urge for wider influence was upon him. In the Black Hawk campaign he had touched elbows with men of calibre—many of the most prominent of Illinois. He was particularly drawn to Stuart, son of a family of culture; a college graduate, and at this time an attorney at law—having the very things which the tall, awkward, ambitious Lincoln felt so much in need of. It is said that no other one man had so much influence in shaping the career of Lincoln as had John Todd Stuart, whom he first met in the Black Hawk war. Soon after the war Lincoln was studying law from books loaned him by Stuart, and, later, the future President came to Springfield with his pitifully meagre possessions and joined Stuart as partner in the practice of law.

Other priceless friendships were formed with men of the Black Hawk campaign, and, all told, the war, though of short duration, was to Abraham Lincoln one of the most helpful of episodes in his march from rail splitter to that of the most beloved of all Americans.



General Winfield Scott, who came with One Thousand Regulars to take Command of the forces operating against Black Hawk in 1832

Winfield Scott

Served in the War of 1812-14; Black Hawk, Seminole, Creek, and Mexican Wars, and was made Lieutenant-General in 1855; resigned 1861. Was twice voted gold medals by Congress for gallantry; was three times candidate for President, in 1839, 1848 and 1852, being defeated by Wm. H. Harrison, Zachary Taylor and Franklin Pierce, respectively.

General Scott came to Fort Armstrong in the 1832 Black Hawk war and established his

headquarters there. On his way here from Fortress Monroe with about 1,000 regulars,

cholera broke out among his men and about one-fourth their number died. The cholera raged in its worst form among the jaded troops at Fort Armstrong.

The last battle, that of the Bad Axe, had been fought a few days before General Scott's arrival. He ordered that all the Indian prisoners be brought to Fort Armstrong. Here he retained 118 of the half-starved remnant of Black Hawk's British band, and sent Black

Hawk, together with his two sons and principal men, to Jefferson Barracks.

During his stay at Fort Armstrong General Scott, together with Governor Reynolds, negotiated two notable Indian treaties—one with the Winnebagoes, September 15th, and the other with the Sauk and Fox, September 21st, 1832. The last named provided for the cession to the United States of what is known as the "Black Hawk Purchase" of lands in Iowa. This treaty was signed on the present site of Davenport, Iowa.

John Reynolds

Lawyer; Editor; Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois; Governor of Illinois; Congressman; Appointed Major-General by President Jackson, in the Black Hawk War.

Governor Reynolds came to the Watch Tower village both in the 1831 and 1832 campaigns of the Black Hawk war, the volunteers in both instances having been called to arms by him.

In the spring of 1831 bloodshed seemed imminent between the pioneers who had settled within Black Hawk's village and the Indians, who had previously cultivated the same fields and still claimed them as their own. In response to urgent appeals, Governor Reynolds, without requisition from the United States authorities, on the 26th of April called for 700 militiamen to assemble at Beardstown June 10. "The warm feelings of the late election for governor had not yet died away," and political friend and foe cleared at once for action—the one to support the governor in the raising of troops, the other to oppose and defeat anything the governor might propose. Volunteers began to come by the hundreds, but thus far Governor Reynolds had no supplies in view for an army, nor did he know what the attitude of the United States authorities would be toward his action. When he did receive a reply from General Gaines, it was most disheartening, as follows:

"I do not deem it necessary or proper to require militia or any other description of force, other than the regular army, at this place (Jefferson Barracks) and Prairie du Chien to protect the frontiers." A cruel blow, but on June 5th General Gaines saved the day for

the governor by writing: "I deem it the only safe measure now to be taken to request of your excellency the battalion of mounted men which you did me the honor to say would co-operate with me." Needless for the governor to say, as he did of the letter: "I was very much rejoiced on receiving the letter, as that put my whole proceeding on a legal and constitutional footing, and the responsibility of the war removed from me to the United States." After four days of a "pleasant and prosperous march," the 1,600 volunteers, at 2:00 p. m., went into camp on the Mississippi, eight miles below the Sauk village (now Andalusia). Here General Gaines met them with a steamboat with abundant provisions, received them into the service of the United States and took command, thereby relieving Governor Reynolds of his arduous cares.

The 1832 campaign was scarcely less trying to the "Old Ranger." He had sent a trustworthy man to St. Louis to secure provisions for the Illinois army and to take them by steamboat up the Mississippi to Oquawka, where the volunteers would meet them, the soldiers meanwhile marching across country. The army, hungry and worn from struggling through mud, camping through long, cold, rainy nights and having to swim their horses across swollen streams, arrived in due time at the appointed place, but no steamboat had arrived and there were no provisions. "This was my situation for three days," so wrote the governor afterward, "the longest, I thought, I



Governor John Reynolds accompanied the Illinois Volunteers to the Watch Tower Village, both in the 1831 and the 1832 Campaigns, Black Hawk War

ever experienced. The army had literally nothing to eat, and I heard murmurs escape the troops complaining of me for the situation I had placed them in. But at last, one morning, the 6th of May, the steamboat 'William Wallace' hove in sight in the Mississippi with plenty of provisions. This sight was, I presume, the most interesting I ever beheld." The painfully long delay had come near disbanding the army.

Next morning they started for Fort Armstrong and marched over prairie, through woodland and across more swollen streams, a distance that day of fifty miles, and made camp on the plain at the foot of the bluff opposite Black Hawk's Watch Tower. Here, on the 9th of May, they were received into the Federal service, under Gen. Henry Atkinson of the regular army, and once more Governor Reynolds' arduous responsibilities were over.



Nah-pope, the Broth, is said to have been Second in Command of the Indians in the Black Hawk War, and to have been a Military Genius

This portrait was painted from life by Catlin, while Black Hawk and his party of leaders were prisoners of war at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., in the fall of 1832. Nah-pope asked that he be represented as holding the white flag. The original is on exhibition at the National Museum, Washington, D. C.

In September 1832, Lieutenants Robert Anderson and Jefferson Davis brought the Indian prisoners to Fort Armstrong. Black Hawk and his head men were taken to Jefferson Barracks for imprisonment. While there, the artist Catlin painted their portraits, and wrote of them as follows:

"We were immediately struck with admira-

tion at the gigantic and symmetrical figures of most of these warriors, who seemed, as they reclined in native ease and gracefulness, with their half-naked bodies exposed to view, rather like statues from some master hand than like beings of a race whom we had heard characterized as degenerate and debased.

"We extended our hands, which they rose



Nah-se-us-kuk, The Whirling Thunder, Elder Son of Black Hawk, and One of the Leaders in the War Which Bore His Father's Name

The artist Catlin, who painted this portrait, says of him that Nah-se-us-kuk was the finest looking Indian he ever saw—and Catlin painted portraits among many tribes.

Painted at Jefferson Barracks in 1832. The original is on exhibition at the National Museum, Washington, D. C.

to grasp, and to our question, 'How'd do?' they responded in the same words, accompanying them with a hearty shake.

"They were clad in leggings and moccasins of buckskins, and wore blankets which were

thrown around them in the manner of the Roman toga so as to leave their right arm bare. The youngest among them were painted on their necks with bright vermilion color, and had their faces transversely streaked with alternate red and black streaks."



View up Rock River from the Point of the Watch Tower

Books that Tell the Story of the Black Hawk Watch Tower Country

The Black Hawk Watch Tower; Sauk Village on Rock river; Black Hawk's village; The Sauk War, and Black Hawk War—all these titles are used interchangeably by writers while referring to one and the same thing, viz: the place where Black Hawk was born and lived until he was sixty-five years of age; the town which became one of the most populous Indian communities in the United States, and seat of Sauk and Fox power; and the spot for possession of which was fought the last Indian war of the original Northwest territory.

There were other Sauk villages, but they did not attain a prominence above that of other Indian communities scattered by the score over the length and breadth of the continent, hence no books were written concerning them.

The following are some of the books which have given the Rock river village a wide publicity, as follows:

Perhaps most important is Black Hawk's Autobiography, dictated by him after his release from prison following the Black Hawk war, with the aid of Antoine LeClaire, as interpreter, and J. B. Patterson, as editor. This is an authentic account of the Indian side of all the troubles which ended with the Black Hawk war. That it is a genuine Indian book is not questioned. Its reliability is attested to by Antoine LeClaire, a man of integrity, who was interpreter for the Agency at Fort Armstrong. LeClaire was himself half Indian and, therefore, was able to maintain the Indian spirit throughout the work.

Black Hawk's Autobiography was written in 1833. The writer has a copy dated 1834, published in Boston.

Another edition by J. B. Patterson was printed in St. Louis, 1882, and contains eighty-nine pages of valuable notes, appendix, etc.

Another edition of Black Hawk's Autobiography was gotten out in 1912, with thirty pages of notes and explanations, by James D. Rishell.

Still another edition of the Autobiography was published in 1916 by the Lakeside Press, as one of the Lakeside Classics, the editor being Milo M. Quaife, of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

"Life of Black Hawk," by George Conclin, 1848, a book of 288 pages.

Same as above, illustrated, and published in 1856.

"Black Hawk and Scenes In the West," by Elbert H. Smith, 1849; "A National Poem In Six Cantos," of 299 pages.

"Lincoln In the Black Hawk War," by Theophilus Middling and Denton J. Snider, a book of 375 pages, written in the style of a poem.

"The Sauks and the Black Hawk War," by Honorable Perry A. Armstrong, a book of 726 pages, published in 1887.

"The Black Hawk War," by Frank E. Stevens, a book of 323 pages, which is virtually an encyclopedia of all that pertains to Black Hawk and his various conflicts with the U. S. authorities. Published in 1903.

"History of the War Between the United States and the Sac and Fox Nation," a book of 198 pages, including appendix, published 1834 by John A. Wakefield, who served in the Black Hawk war.

"Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War," a reprint of the above, with illustrations and editor's appendix, published by the Caxton Club, Chicago, 1908, edited by Frank E. Stevens.

"The Saukie Indians," illustrated, by Dr. Amer Mills Stocking, Ph. D., 1926. A book of 299 pages, including 32 pages of historical notes. This is just off the press. It is authentic history written in rhyme; the meter changing from story to story, and highly interesting, alike to adults and children. "The writer

brushes the dust of oblivion off many a fine deed," says Miss French (Octave Thanet), in the introduction to this book.

"The Totem of Black Hawk" is an historical novel of 369 pages, published in 1914 by Everett McNeil.

"The Trail of Black Hawk" is another historical novel by Paul G. Tomlinson, a book of 341 pages, published in 1915.

Both the above named historical novels are highly interesting and instructive.

While all the above named are devoted exclusively to Black Hawk and subjects directly connected with him, it is not claimed that it is a complete list. They are merely those contained in the writer's private library. The subject is today a live one, and books, pamphlets, magazine and newspaper articles are continually being printed on this subject, which is so full of romance and tragedy.

Among the classes of books giving part space to the Watch Tower country and its red denizens may be mentioned the following:

(1) The large number of popular works on the American Indian written for use of children, young people and others. There is an increasing number from year to year of this general class of books. In these, Black Hawk is often presented as "The Indian Patriot."

(2) At the close of the Black Hawk war there were writers and artists who looked upon the Indian as a vanishing race, and set themselves to the task of recording with brush and pen the people and scenes of the country in their aboriginal state. Prominent among these are the following:

"The North American Indian," two large volumes, 1841, by George Catlin.

"History of the Indian Tribes of North America," three large volumes, 1838, by McKenney and Hall.

"The Aboriginal Portfolio," by J. O. Lewis, 1835.

Each of the three above mentioned works contains fine colored portraits, painted from life, of leading Indians of their day, prominent among them being Black Hawk, Keokuk, and others of the Sauk and Fox tribes.

(3) Biographies of Abraham Lincoln and of many other prominent Americans, relating to their Black Hawk war experiences.

(4) Historical works; school books; encyclopedias; U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, etc., etc.

From all these it may be inferred there is scarcely a library of note in the world which does not contain some notice of the interesting Black Hawk country.

Much additional publicity is given through the designation: "Black Hawk Division" of

men trained for the World war at Camp Grant; the "Black Hawk Division of the Illinois Teachers' Association;" Black Hawk hotel, at Davenport, Iowa, and other cities; Black Hawk Grill, on Wabash Avenue, Chicago, and the numerous historical spots not only of Illinois, but of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa, where are related the connection which this famed war chief had with that particular place. At a number of these places imposing monuments have been erected at State expense.

Black Hawk—The Man

His credo:

"We thank the Great Spirit for all the good he has conferred upon us."

* * *

"We are nothing compared to His power, and we feel and know it."

* * *

"I never take a drink of water from a spring without being mindful of His goodness."

* * *

A Religious Observance:

"My eldest son was taken sick and died. He had always been a dutiful child and had just grown to manhood. Soon after, my youngest daughter, an interesting and affectionate child, died also. This was a hard stroke, because I loved my children. In my distress I left the noise of the village and built my lodge on a mound in the corn field and enclosed it with a fence, around which I planted corn and beans. Here I was with my family alone. I gave everything I had away and reduced myself to poverty. The only covering I retained was a piece of buffalo robe. I blacked my face and resolved on fasting for twenty-four moons, for the loss of my two children—drinking only of water during the day and eating sparingly of boiled corn at sunset. I fulfilled my promise, hoping that the Great Spirit would take pity on me."

—Autobiography, p. 72.

His character:

Every adjective, good and bad has been used by writers in describing the character of Black Hawk. He has been called noble, and puerile;

humane and bloodthirsty; honest and treacherous; weak and forceful.

In our estimate of a man's inner motives we must trust to the testimony of those closest to him in life. In Black Hawk's case we have the word of the children and grandchildren of those pioneers who settled in Black Hawk's village; who associated with him; quarreled with him, and finally volunteered to serve in driving him from the land in the war which bears his name. The writer has spent many an hour listening to the narratives of the descendants of these pioneers; hearing the testimony of many of them. Strangely enough, everything considered, quarrels, war and all, we have not heard an unfavorable comment. Summed up, the verdict is about as follows: "Black Hawk was all right. If people had treated him right, he would never have made any trouble."

Aside from such testimony as the descendants of his white neighbors are able to give, we should recognize the fact that the Indians had a culture, traditions and customs as deeply and firmly fixed and as inviolable as those of the white race. There were wide differences. Each held the other's rule of conduct in contempt, and this in itself caused misunderstandings, bitter criticism, and often to open hostility. They simply would not understand each other.

Black Hawk's private life has never been assailed. His service to his people was such that a large, respectable element of them made him their leader, and those of the white race who knew him best called him a good man.

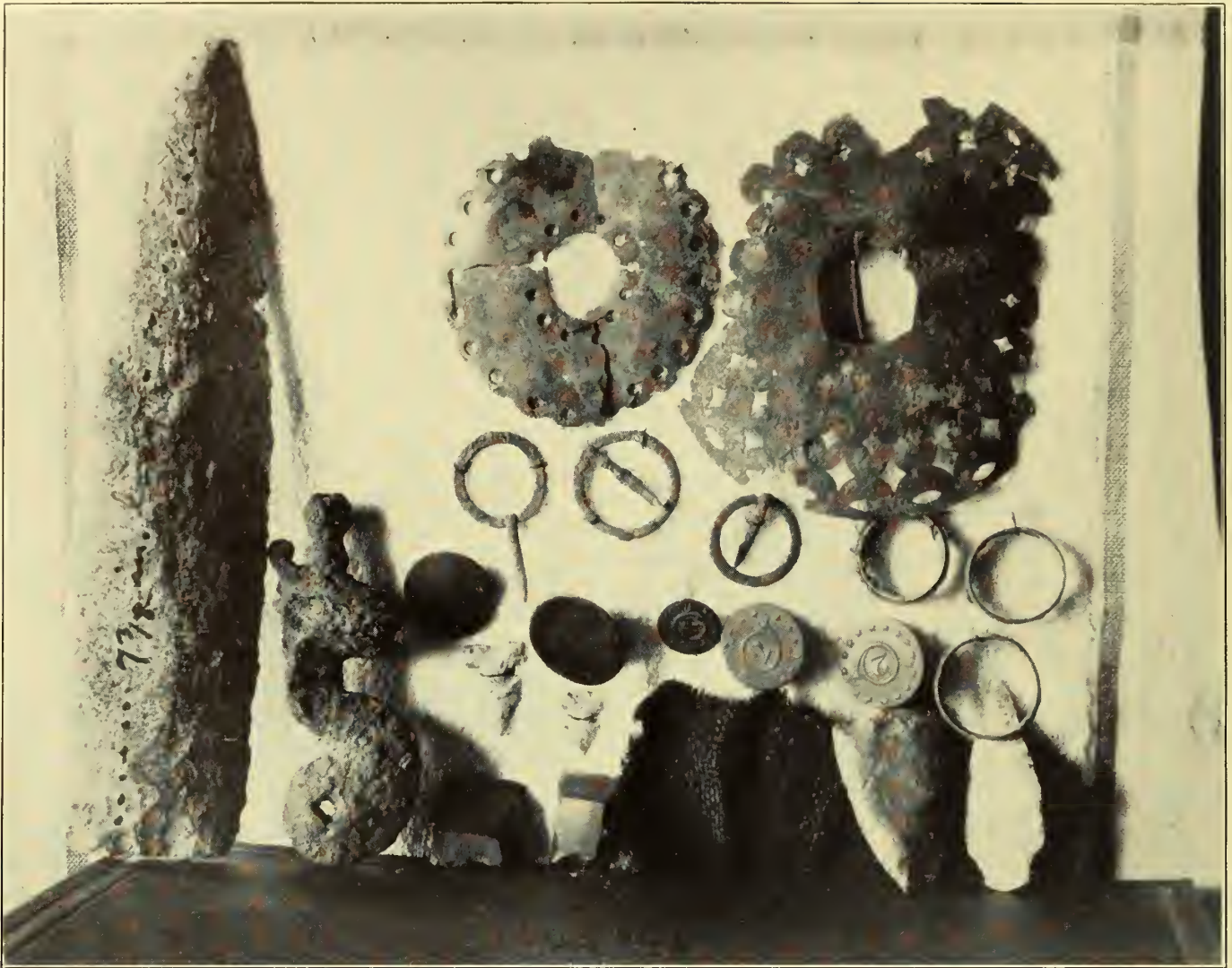


A Fox Indian at the Watch Tower, 1925

Results of the Black Hawk War

The long line of Illinois volunteers, 1,800 in number, and the keel-boats, with their 400 to 500 regulars, left the Watch Tower and vicinity May 10th, 1832. They were in the service for the express purpose of fighting Indians; but for the benefit of their fellow-

Americans they were more than soldiers. They became the explorers of lands hitherto unknown to the white man. It is true that missionaries and traders had threaded their way through much of it, but the volunteers were farmers, business and professional men with



Relics from Black Hawk's Village Site

Brooches, buckles, finger rings, piece of black cloth, arrow-heads, gun flints, and hammer from flintlock gun. Three of the buttons are of the description of those to be used by the U. S. Rifle Regiment, as per General Orders, March 17, 1814, viz: "Flat yellow buttons which shall exhibit a bugle surrounded by stars, with the number of the regiment within the curve of the bugle." These relics are in possession of the Rock Island County Historical Society.

a different viewpoint. The "second army" of volunteers, recruited after Stillman's defeat, added greatly to this number of explorers.

Not only did the soldier by word of mouth spread the news of this "newly discovered paradise," but the press of the country added its strength to the cause. We will quote Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, on this subject:

"During and immediately following the Black Hawk war the newspapers of the eastern States were filled with descriptions, more or less florid, of the scenic charms of, and the possibilities for extractive industries in the Rock river valley; of the groves and prairies on every hand. * * * From the press were

issued books and pamphlets by the score, giving sketches of the war and accounts of the newly discovered paradise."

All northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin profited by this liberal advertising, and caused its settlement much more rapidly than otherwise would have been the case.

Speaking of the benefits to the State of Iowa, Shambaugh-Upham have the following to say: "The 'Scott' or 'Black Hawk' purchase * * just preceded the first general and permanent occupation of the Iowa country by the whites, and may be regarded as the opening wedge by which the settlers gradually pushed the Indians westward and out of the State"—(Iowa and war).

Roll Call of Counties

The following named counties were represented in the volunteer army in the Black Hawk war, 1831 and 1832.

Obviously, the task would be too great for this modest volume to print a list of all who were enrolled. Nor are we giving the long list of notable officers above the rank of captain. The object herein is to indicate the extent of each county's response when Governor Reynolds called for volunteers to drive out the Indians. For this purpose, only the captain and his first and second lieutenants are named. They are copied from "Record of Services, Illinois Soldiers in Black Hawk and Mexican wars," printed by State authority, 1882.

Not all companies enrolled are to be found in the printed records. Again, companies with their full enrollment are found on the records with no designation as to the county from which they were recruited. Thus the reader will see there is much room for disappointment as he scans the pages for companies he knows to have served.

Adams County—Alexander White, capt.; Tolbert Shipley, 1st lieu.

David Crow, capt.; Christopher Howard, 1st lieu.; Elijah G. Lillard, 2nd lieu.

Alexander County—Henry L. Webb, capt.; Richard H. Price, 1st lieu.; David H. Moore and James D. Morris, 2nd lieuts.

Bond County—Benjamin James, capt.; Calvert Roberts, 1st lieu.; W. D. Shirley, 2nd lieu.

John Stout, capt.; John Stropton, 1st lieu.; John P. Hunter, 2nd lieu.

Benj. James, capt.; John McAdams, 1st lieu.; William Clouse, 2nd lieu.

Carroll County—Thos. Carlin, capt.; Jesse V. Mounts, 1st lieu.; Geo. D. Laurens, 2nd lieu.

Clark County—Royal A. Nott, capt.; Daniel Poorman, 1st lieu.; George W. Young, 2nd lieu.

John F. Richardson, capt.; Woodford Dulaney, 1st lieu.; Justin Harlin, 2nd lieu.

Clay County—John Onslott, capt.; Trussey P. Hanson, 1st lieu.; Alfred J. Moore, 2nd lieu.

Clinton County—Andrew Bankson, capt.; Godfrey Ammons, 1st lieu.; James J. Justice, 2nd lieu.

Coles County—Thos. B. Ross, capt.; James Shaw, 1st lieu.; Isaac Lewis and Thomas Sconce, 2nd lieuts.

Cook County—Gholson Kercheval, capt.; Geo. W. Dale, 1st lieu.; John S. C. Hogan, 2nd lieu.

James Walker, capt.; Chester Smith, 1st lieu.; George Hollenboch, 2nd lieu.

Holden Seission, capt.; Robert Stephens, 1st lieu.; William H. Bradford, 2nd lieu.

Joseph Napier, capt.; Alanson Sweet, 1st lieu.; Sherman King, 2nd lieu.

Abner Eads, capt.; William A. Stewart, 1st lieu.; John W. Caldwell, 2nd lieu.

Crawford County—Alex M. Houston, capt.; Geo. W. Lagon, 1st lieu.; James Boatright, 2nd lieu.

Wm. Highsmith, capt.; Samuel V. Allison, 1st lieu.; John H. McMickle, 2nd lieu.

Edgar County—Samuel Brimberry, capt.; Philip B. Smith, 1st lieu.

Isaac Sanford, capt.; William Runyan, 1st lieu.; Aloysius Brown, 2nd lieu.

Robert Griffin, capt.; George Moke, 1st lieu.; William K. Redman, 2nd lieu.

Jonathan Mayo, capt.; Edward Y. Russell, 1st lieu.; John S. McConkey, 2nd lieu.

Edwards County—Solomon Hunter, capt.; William Carabaugh, 1st lieu.; John S. Rotramel, 2nd lieu.

Champion S. Mading, capt.; William Curtis, 1st lieu.; Thomas Sanders, 2nd lieu.

Fayette County—Samuel Huston, capt.; John Watwood, 1st lieu.; Henry Brown, 2nd lieu.

John Dement, capt.; Dem's'y Yarborough, 1st lieu.; Abraham Starnes, 2nd lieu.

Franklin County—George P. Bowyer, capt.; Jacob Phillips, 1st lieu.; Thomas P. Moore, 2nd lieu.

Wm. J. Stephenson, capt.; Tramel Ewing, 2nd lieu.

Obediah West, capt.; Robert West, 1st lieu.; Hugh Parks, 2nd lieu.

Wm. S. Stephenson, capt.; James G. Corder, 1st lieu.

Fulton County—David W. Barnes, capt.; Thos W. Clark, 1st lieu.; Asa Langford, 2nd lieu.

Asel F. Ball, capt.; William D. Baldwin, 1st lieu.; David S. Baughman, 2nd lieu.

John Sain, capt.; Livings Burrington, 1st lieu.; Elijah Wilcoxson, 2nd lieu.

Asel F. Ball, capt.; Thomas W. Clark, 1st lieu.; Asa Langford, 2nd lieu.

Gallatin County—John Hays, capt.; Wm. Robertson, 1st lieu.; Daniel Wood, 2nd lieu.

David B. Russell, capt.; Wm. Pankey, 1st lieu.; Achilles Coffee, capt.; Daniel Botright, 1st lieu.; Willis Stricklen, 2nd lieu.

Harrison Wilson, capt.; John Logston, 1st lieu.; John Willis, 2nd lieu.

Joel Holliday, capt.

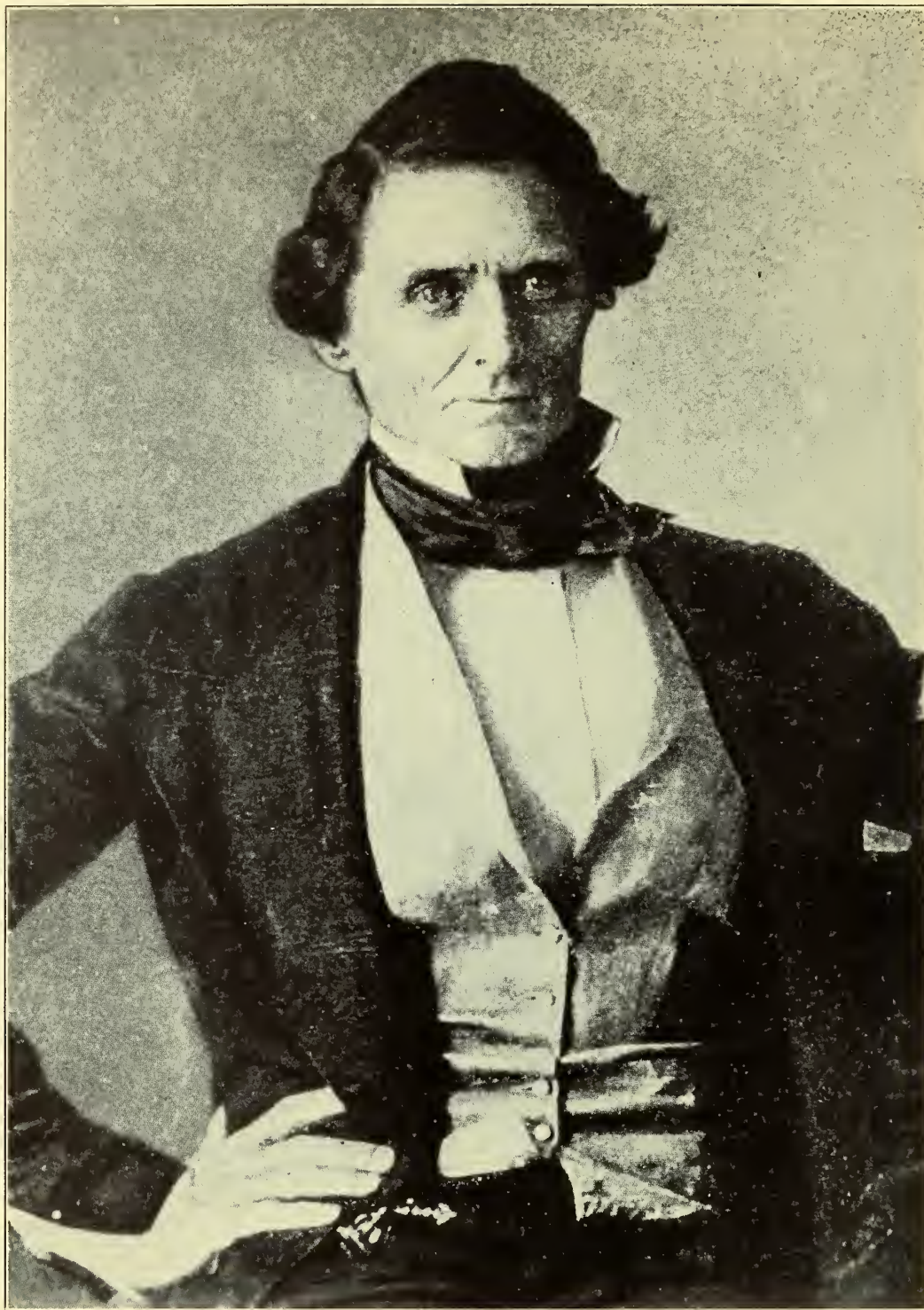
James Caldwell, capt.; Turner Cook, 1st lieu.; John J. Dean, 2nd lieu.

Greene County—James Kincaid, capt.; John Fry, 1st lieu.; Royal O. Pitts, 2nd lieu.

Alexander Smith, capt.

Gershon Patterson, capt.; Jacob Baccus, 1st lieu.; Samuel Bowman, 2nd lieu.

Charles Gregory, capt.; Thomas Hill, 1st lieu.; Levi Whiteside, 2nd lieu.



Jefferson Davis

Lieutenant in Black Hawk War; United States Senator 1847-1853;
Secretary of War 1853-1857; United States Senator 1857-
1861; President of Confederacy 1861 to 1865.

Lieutenant Davis served throughout both the 1831 and 1832 campaigns of the Black Hawk war. In 1831 he was with Gen. E. P. Gaines and the regulars in the advance from Fort Armstrong upon Black Hawk's village,

and took part in cannonading Vandruff's Island, which lies in front of the Watch Tower. In 1832 he served as adjutant to Col. Zachary Taylor; ascended Rock river with the regulars, and saw the first real battle of his life at Wis-

consin Heights, where he was much impressed with the generalship displayed by the Red Man. He spoke of it a half century afterward as "The most brilliant exhibition of military tactics that I ever witnessed" (p. 64 Trans. Ill. H. S. 1923). At the close of the war Lieuten-

ant Davis was assigned to duty as assistant to Lieut Robert Anderson in escorting Black Hawk and his associate leaders, as prisoners of war, to Fort Armstrong and on to Jefferson Barracks—(Wis. H. C., X., p. 172).

Roll Call of Counties

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 65)

Greene County—(Continued)

Thomas Chapman, capt.
Jeremiah Smith, capt.; James Allen, 1st lieut.;
Jacob Wagner, 2nd lieut.
Jacob Fry, capt.; Samuel Smith, 1st lieut.; E. D. Baker, 2nd lieut.
Samuel Smith, capt.; E. D. Baker, 1st lieut.; Mathias S. Link, 2nd lieut.
Thomas McDow, capt.; James Whitlock, 1st lieut.; Silas Crain, 2nd lieut.
David Crow, capt.; Christopher Howard, 1st lieut.; Elijah G. Lillard, 2nd lieut.
L. W. Goodan, capt.; John Reed, 1st lieut.; Wm. Cantrell, 2nd lieut.
Samuel Smith, capt.; James D. Scott, 1st lieut.; Jacob Waggoner, 2nd lieut.
Aaron Bannon, capt.; Harvey Jarboe, 1st lieut.; Job Collins, 2nd lieut.

Hamilton County—Ardin Biggerstaff, capt.; Lewis Lane, 1st lieut.; Wesley W. Wiltes, 2nd lieut.
James Hall, capt.; John Burton, 1st lieut.; John Townsend, 2nd lieut.

Hancock County—James White, capt.; John Reynolds, 1st lieut.; James Miller, 2nd lieut.

Jackson County—Alexen'r M. Jenkins, capt.; James Herald, 1st lieut.; Silas Hickman, 2nd lieut.

Jefferson County—James Bowman, capt.; Franklin S. Casey, 1st lieut.; Green Deprist, 2nd lieut.

Jo Daviess County—Charles McCoy, capt.; James M. Miller, 1st lieut.; Jesse Yount, 2nd lieut.

Benj. J. Aldenrath, capt.; John C. Robinson, 1st lieut.; Daniel P. Price and James Simonds, 2nd lieuts.

H. Hezekiah Gear, capt.; J. W. Foster, 1st lieut.; Alesworth Baker, 2nd lieut.

Samuel H. Scales, capt.; John L. Soals, 1st lieut.; George Wells, 2nd lieut.

Jonathan Craig, capt.; Thomas Kilgore, 1st lieut.; Robert C. Bourne, 2nd lieut.

L. P. Vansburgh, capt.; John W. Blackstone, 1st lieut.; Henry Cavener, 2nd lieut.

James Craig, capt.; H. T. Camp, 1st lieut.; Leonard Goss and Orn Smith, 2nd lieuts.

James W. Stephenson, capt.

Enoch Duncan, capt.; James K. Hammett, 1st lieut.; Alexander Kerr, 2nd lieut.

———, capt.; Alex. Kerr, 1st lieut.; Enoch Duncan, 2nd lieut.

———, capt.; Harvey Cavanaw, 1st lieut.; D. S. Harris, 2nd lieut.

———, capt.; James L. Kirkpatrick, 1st lieut.

Jas. M. Strode, capt.; John Larrison, 1st lieut.; Joseph Payne, 2nd lieut.

Knox County—William McMurtry, capt.; Geo. G. Lattimore, 1st lieut.; Turner R. Rountree, 2nd lieut.

LaSalle County—Geo. McFadden, capt.; W. F. Walker, 1st lieut.; Oliver Bangs, 2nd lieut.

Lawrence County—John Barnes, capt.; Elijah Mays, 1st lieut.; Daniel Morris, 2nd lieut.

Abner Greer, capt.; David D. Marney, 1st lieut.; Aaron Wells, 2nd lieut.

McDonough County—Peter Butler, capt.; John Wilson, 2nd lieut.

McLean County—Robert McClure, capt.; John H. S. Rhodes, 1st lieut.; Thomas Glenn, 2nd lieut.

M. L. Covell, capt.; Wm. Dimmet, 1st lieut.; Richard Edwards, 2nd lieut.

M. L. Covell, capt.; Aschel Gridley, 1st lieut.; Moses Baldwin, 2nd lieut.

Macon County—William Warnick, capt.; I. C. Pugh, 1st lieut.; E. Freeman, 2nd lieut.

James Johnson, capt.; William Warnick, 1st lieut.; I. C. Pugh, 2nd lieut.

John G. Adams, capt.; Benj. Briggs, 1st lieut.; John O. Hyde, 2nd lieut.

Macoupin County—John Harris, capt.; William G. Coop, 1st lieut.; Jeff. Weatherford, 2nd lieut.

Bennet Nolen, capt.; Jesse Scott, 1st lieut.; John Allen, 2nd lieut.

———, capt.; John Yowell, 1st lieut.

Madison County—Nathaniel Buckmaster, capt.; Jacob Swaggart, 1st lieut.; William Tindall, 2nd lieut.

Aaron Armstrong, capt.

William Moore, capt.; Benjamin Chesney, 1st lieut.; William F. Hill, 2nd lieut.

Julius L. Barnsback, capt.; Ryland Ballard, 1st lieut.; Jesse Bartlett, 2nd lieut.

John Thomas, capt.; Gideon Simpson, 1st lieut.; George Kinney and Wm. S. Thomas, 2nd lieuts.

Solomon Pruitt, capt.; Josiah Little, 1st lieut.; Jacob Swegart, 2nd lieut.

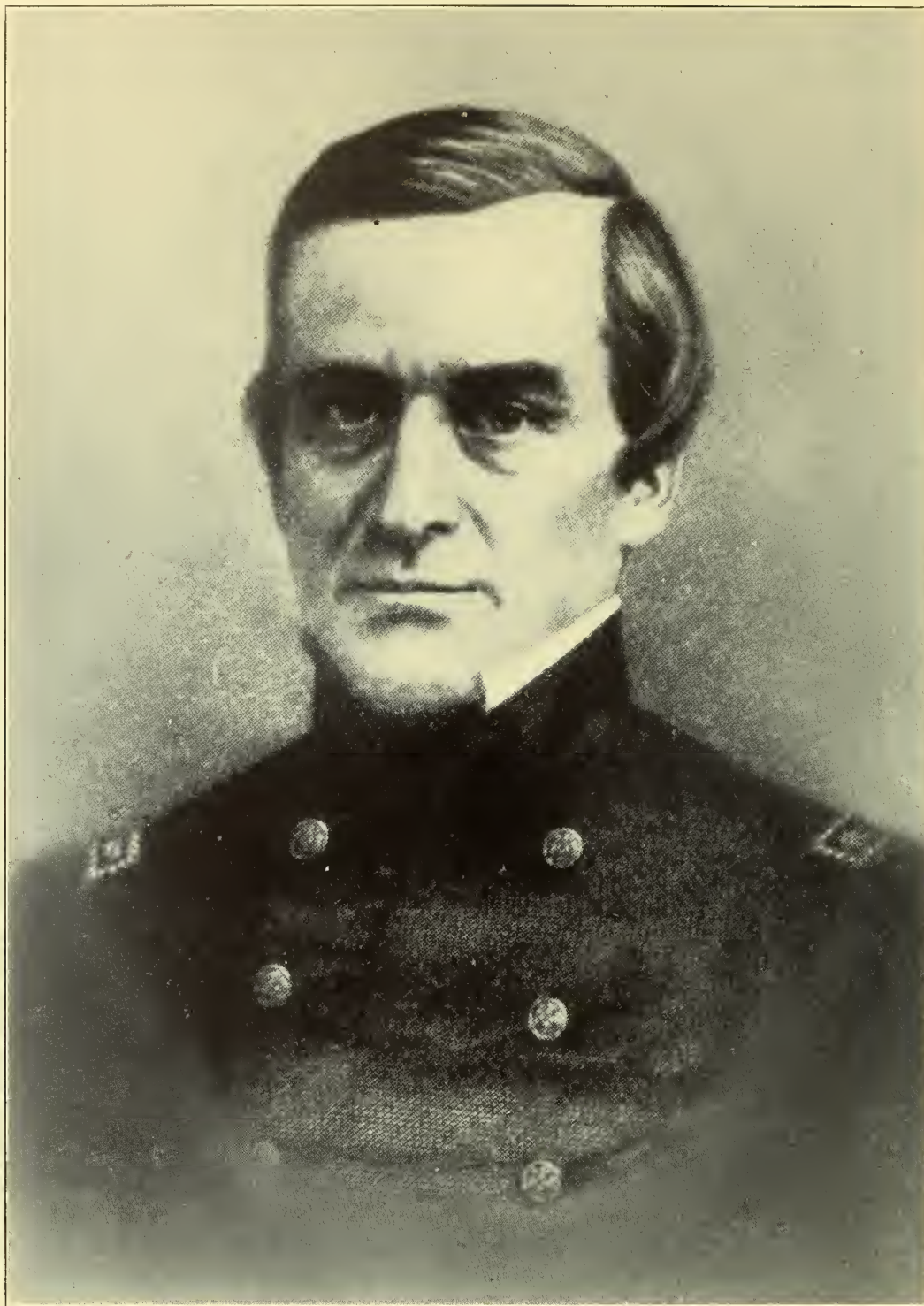
Josiah Little, capt.; William Arundell, 1st lieut.

David Smith, capt.; John Lee, 1st lieut.; John Umphrey, 2nd lieut.

Marion County—Wm. N. Dobbins, capt.; Stephen Yocan, 1st lieut.; James Gray, 2nd lieut.

Monroe County—Thomas Harrison, capt.; Edward T. Morgan, 1st lieut.; Thomas McRoberts, 2nd lieut.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 69)



Robert Anderson

Served in Black Hawk War, Seminole War, Mexican War; was the Hero of Fort Sumpter, which he commanded at the time it was bombarded by the Confederates, April 12-13, 1861. He retired as Brevet Major-General, United States Army, 1865.

Speaking of his Black Hawk war service, General Anderson says: "* * I joined General Atkinson's expedition at Rock Island (Fort Armstrong). After a considerable aug-

mentation of the troops at Rock Island we moved our forces up Rock river, in keel boats, as far as Dixon. * * * I mustered Abraham Lincoln twice into the service, and once out.

* * * Of course, I had no recollection of Mr. Lincoln, but when President he reminded me of the fact. Governor Reynolds gave me a commission of inspector general in the Illinois volunteer service, with the rank of colonel.

"From Dixon's Ferry I was sent by Atkinson with dispatches for General Scott at Rock Island, and to report to him for duty. * * * General Scott having received information from Colonel Taylor of the capture of Black Hawk and a few of his chiefs, he detailed me with a guard to go to Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) for them and bring them to Fort Armstrong. * * * I delivered my orders to Colonel Taylor. By that time I had the

cholera myself and was scarcely fit for duty. Colonel Taylor, therefore, assigned to me for my assistance in returning with the Indians to Fort Armstrong, his adjutant, Lieut. Jefferson Davis. We took with us Black Hawk and his two sons, the Prophet, and some other chiefs. On reaching Fort Armstrong the cholera was raging so violently in camp that General Scott ordered the steamer ("Warrior," Captain Throckmorton) to go immediately to Jefferson Barracks.

"It was my first service in the field, and I entered into it with all the zeal of a young officer who loved his profession."—(pp. 167-173 Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. X.)

Roll Call of Counties

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 67)

Montgomery County—Hiram Roundtree, capt.; John Kirkpatrick, 1st lieut.; Thomas Philips, 2nd lieut.
Levi D. Boone, capt.; James G. Hinman, 1st lieut.; Absalom Cress, 2nd lieut.
Wm. G. Flood, capt.; Edward L. Pearson, 1st lieut.; Thomas Crocker, 2nd lieut.
William Gordon, capt.; Peter Menard, 1st lieut.; William Morrison, 2nd lieut.

Morgan County—Nathan Winters, capt.; John D. Pinson, 1st lieut.; John L. Kirkpatrick, 2nd lieut.
Cyrus Matthews, capt.; William Hunter, 1st lieut.; W. R. Lindsay, 2nd lieut.
William B. Smith, capt.; Starkey R. Powell, 1st lieut.; Willie Myers, 2nd lieut.
William T. Givens, capt.; Walter Butler, 1st lieut.; Thomas Wright, 2nd lieut.
Erastus Wheeler, capt.; John T. Lusk, 1st lieut.; Richard R. Randle, 2nd lieut.
Allen F. Lindsey, capt.; William Scott, 1st lieut.; Isaac R. Bennett, 2nd lieut.
William Gillham, capt.; Robert H. McDow, 1st lieut.; James Etheal, 2nd lieut.
George T. Bristow, capt.; Stephen Henderson, 1st lieut.; Walter Ellis, 2nd lieut.
S. T. Mathews, capt.; N. H. Johnson, 1st lieut.; D. B. McConnell, 2nd lieut.
Walter Butler, capt.; Thomas P. Ross, 1st lieut.; Fleming C. Maupin, 2nd lieut.

Peoria County—Abner Eads, capt.; Wm. A. Stewart, 1st lieut.; John W. Caldwell, 2nd lieut.

Perry County—David Baldridge, capt.; Jacob Short, 1st lieut.; John Hansford, 2nd lieut.
William Adair, capt.

Pike County—William Ross, capt.; Israel N. Bert, 1st lieut.; Lewis Allen, 2nd lieut.
Benjamin Barney, capt.

Elisha Petty, capt.; James Ross, 1st lieut.; John W. Birch, 2nd lieut.
Ozias Hail, capt.; David Seeley, 1st lieut.; Robert Goodin, 2nd lieut.

Pope County—Charles Dunn, capt.; Joseph Neal, 1st lieut.; John Raum and James H. McCollough, 2nd lieuts.
Jonathan Durman, capt.; Simon S. Bargar, 1st lieut.; Jacob Benyard, 2nd lieut.

Putnam County—George B. Wills, capt.; Timothy Perkins, 1st lieut.; Samuel D. Laughlin, 2nd lieut.
Robert Barnes, capt.; William M. Neal, 1st lieut.; John Weir, 2nd lieut.
William M. Stewart, capt.; Mason Wilson, 1st lieut.; Livingston Roberts, 2nd lieut.
William Haws, capt.; James Garvin, 1st lieut.; Wm. M. Hart, 2nd lieut.

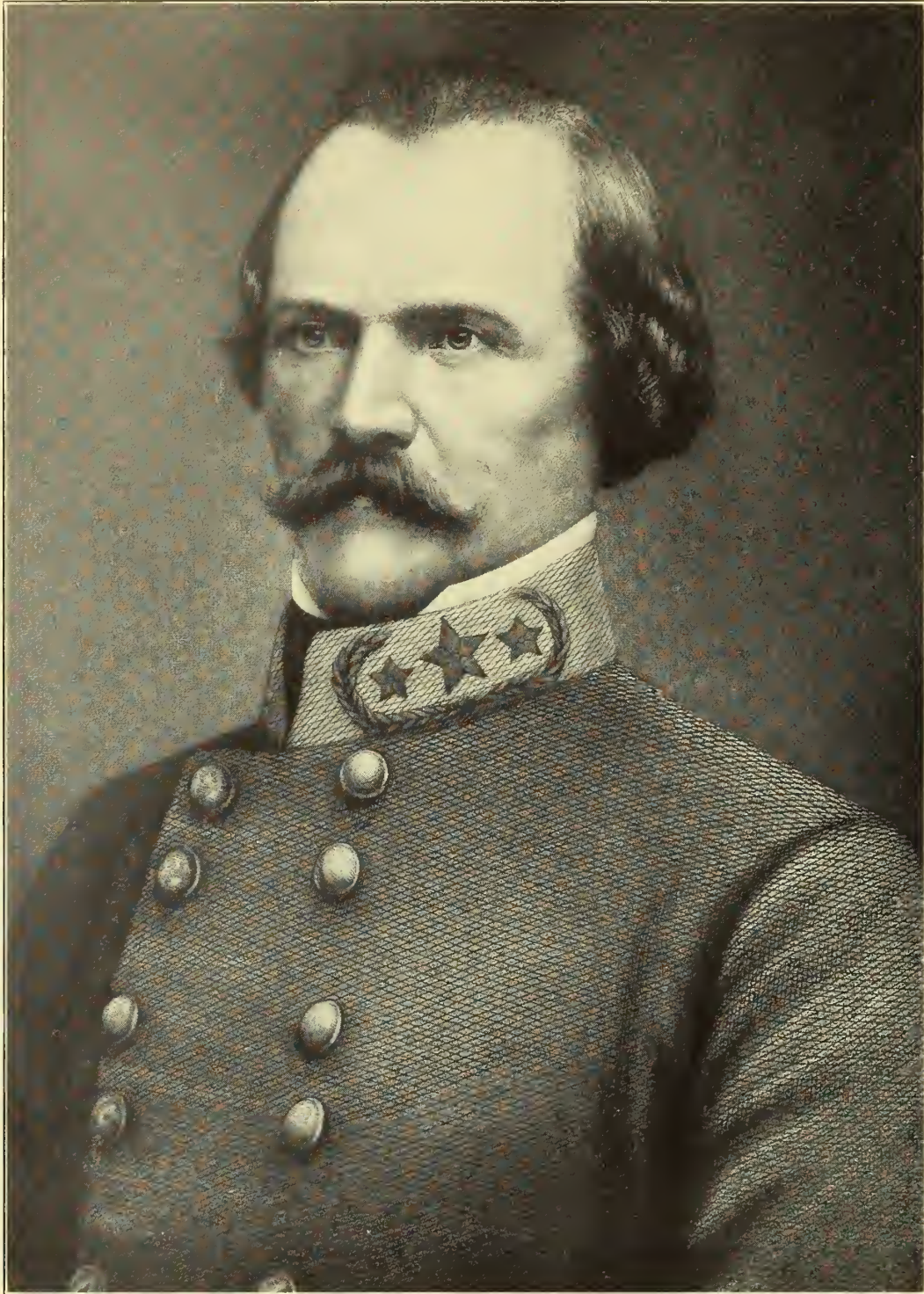
Randolph County—Josiah S. Briggs, capt.; John Morrison, 1st lieut.; John Thompson, 2nd lieut.
James Thompson, capt.; Samuel Barber, 1st lieut.; Wm. H. McDill, 2nd lieut.
Jacob Feaman, capt.
James Conner, capt.; Mathew Gray, 1st lieut.; David Wright, 2nd lieut.

Rock Island County—Benjamin J. Pike, capt.; John W. Spencer, 1st lieut.; Griffith Aubery, 2nd lieut.
John W. Kenney, capt.; Joseph Danforth, 1st lieut.; Ira Wells, 2nd lieut.

NOTE.—A pension was granted as late as 1904 to Mrs. Elizabeth Mandler Wells, widow of 2nd Lieut. Ira Wells, for his services in the Black Hawk war.

Sangamon County—Elijah Iles, capt.; Jesse M. Harrison, 1st lieut.; Henry B. Roberts, 2nd lieut.
Jacob M. Early, capt.; G. W. Glasscock, 1st lieut.; B. D. Rusk, 2nd lieut.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 71)



Albert Sydney Johnston

Lieutenant in Black Hawk War; Secretary of War for the Republic of Texas; Colonel in Mexican War, and General in the Confederate Army; Killed in Battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862. Regarded by many as the greatest general the South ever produced.

Albert Sydney Johnston and Jefferson Davis were classmates at West Point, and both came to Fort Armstrong and the Watch Tower village in the Black Hawk war, the former as

assistant adjutant general on the staff of Gen. Henry Atkinson, and the latter as adjutant to Col. Zachary Taylor. Both were serving for the first time in the business of war.

Of Johnston, his biographer says: "Not only are all the official documents in regard to the (Black Hawk war) campaign based upon Lieutenant Johnston's report, as assistant adjutant general of General Atkinson, but his private journal furnished the most exact and

authentic account of the transactions against Black Hawk."

Lieutenant Johnston was appointed by Governor Reynolds acting assistant adjutant general to the Illinois volunteers during the Black Hawk war.

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(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 69)

Sangamon County—(Continued)

Seth Pratt, capt.; John M. Crabtree, 1st lieut.; Joseph Leister, 2nd lieut.

Alexander D. Cox, capt.; Joseph W. Duncan, 1st lieut.; Thomas T. Clark, 2nd lieut.

Abraham Lincoln, capt.; Samuel M. Thompson, 1st lieut.; John Brannan, 2nd lieut.

M. L. Covell, capt.; Asahel Gridley, 1st lieut.; Moses Baldwin, 2nd lieut.

Jacob Ebey, capt.; Edward Shaw, 1st lieut.; Winslow M. Neal, 2nd lieut.

Japhet A. Ball, capt.; Alexander D. Cox, 1st lieut.; John McCormack, 2nd lieut.

John Dawson, capt.; Wm. Dickrell, 1st lieut.; John Hornback, 2nd lieut.

L. W. Goodan, capt.; John Reed, 1st lieut.; Wm. Cantrell, 2nd lieut.

Jesse Claywell, capt.; John Wilcoxson, 1st lieut.; Rezen H. Constant, 2nd lieut.

———, capt.; Lowyel Cox, 1st lieut.

Reuben Brown, capt.; William Baker, 1st lieut.; Daloss Brown, 2nd lieut.

Thomas Moffett, capt.; David Black, 1st lieut.

———, capt.; Campbell Shadrack, 1st lieut.; James Watson, 2nd lieut.

Schuyler County—William C. Ralls, capt.; Radford M. Wyatt, 1st lieut.

Alexander White, capt.; Tolbert Shipley, 1st lieut.

Charles S. Dorsey, capt.; Thaddeus Bowman, 1st lieut.; William Burns, 2nd lieut.

John Stennett, capt.; Daniel Mathoney, 1st lieut.; Joel Pennington, 2nd lieut.

M. L. Covell, capt.; Wm. Dimmet, 1st lieut.; Richard Edwards, 2nd lieut.

Moses G. Wilson, capt.; Alex. Hollingsworth, 1st lieut.; Harvey Skiles, 2nd lieut.

Wm. C. Ralls, capt.; James Blackburn, 1st lieut.; John Stumet, 2nd lieut.

John S. Wilbourn, capt.; William Chase, 1st lieut.; James H. Blackman, 2nd lieut.

Shelby County—Daniel Price, capt.; William Williamson, 1st lieut.; Hiram M. Trimble, 2nd lieut.

Peter Warren, capt.; Archibald Wynn, 1st lieut.; Robert T. Brown, 2nd lieut.

St. Clair County—Adam W. Snyder, capt.; James Winstanley, 1st lieut.; John T. Lusk, 2nd lieut.

Earl Pierce, capt.; Banford Morris, 1st lieut.; Loring Ames, 2nd lieut.

James M. Strode, capt.; John Larrison, 1st lieut.; Joseph Payne, 2nd lieut.

Solomon Miller, capt.; John Winstanley, 1st lieut.; Samuel B. Chandler, 2nd lieut.

Solomon Miller, capt.; Jacob S. Stout, 1st lieut.; William H. Phillips, 2nd lieut.

William Moore, capt.; Isaac Griffin, 1st lieut.; A. T. Fike, 2nd lieut.

James Winstanley, capt.; Aaron Stookey, 1st lieut.; David Snier, 2nd lieut.

John Tate, capt.; Joshua Hughes, 1st lieut.; Abram B. Vandigrif, 2nd lieut.

Tazewell County—John G. Adams, capt.; Benj. Briggs, 1st lieut.; John O. Hyde, 2nd lieut.

Union County—B. B. Craig, capt.; William Craig, 1st lieut.; John Newton, 2nd lieut.

Vermilion County—Morgan L. Payne, capt.; Noah Ginion and John Black, 1st lieuts.; Thos. McConnell, 2nd lieut.

John B. Thomas, capt.; William Nox, 1st lieut.; Gabriel G. Rice, 2nd lieut.

Eliakem Ashton, capt.; William Mackin, 1st lieut.

James Palmer, capt.; John Light, 1st lieut.; Joseph Jackson, 2nd lieut.

Wabash County—John Arnold, capt.; George Danforth, 1st lieut.; Samuel Fisher, 2nd lieut.

Elias Jordan, capt.; James Kennerly, 1st lieut.; John N. Barnett, 2nd lieut.

Isaac Parmeter, capt.; Samuel Fisher, 1st lieut.

Warren County—Peter Butler, capt.; James McCalen, 1st lieut.; John Wilson, 2nd lieut.

Washington County—James Burns, capt.; Andrew Lyons, 1st lieut.; Cyrus Sawyers, 2nd lieut.

———, capt.; William Wood, 1st lieut.

Wayne County—James N. Clark, capt.; David Ray, 1st lieut.; Jesse Laird, 2nd lieut.

Benjamin G. Wells, capt.; John Brown, 1st lieut.; James B. Carter, 2nd lieut.

White County—John Haynes, capt.; Thomas Fields, 1st lieut.; Reuben Emerson, 2nd lieut.

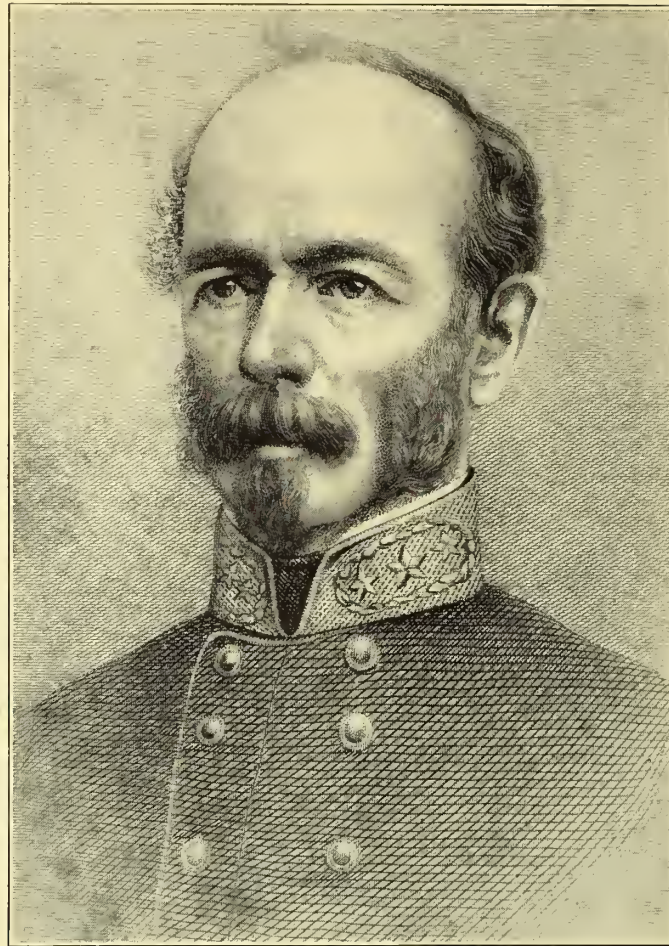
William Thomas, capt.; Henry Horn, 1st lieut.; Joel Rice, 2nd lieut.

Daniel Powell, capt.; Joshua Blackard, 1st lieut.; James Eubanks, 2nd lieut.

David Powell, capt.

John McCann, capt.; Samuel Slocumb, 1st lieut.; Walter Burruss, 2nd lieut.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 73)



Joseph Eggleston Johnston

Lieutenant in Black Hawk War; a Colonel in Mexican War; Quar-master General of the United States Army in 1860, with the rank of Brigadier-General. He was one of the ablest Generals in the Confederate Army. He surrendered to Sherman April 26th, seventeen days after Lee's surrender to Grant. He later served as Congressman.

He graduated from West Point 1829, in the same class with R. E. Lee. His first war service was in the Black Hawk war. He had been on garrison duty at Fortress Monroe, Va., 1831-1832, and came west with the 1,000 regulars under Gen. Winfield Scott. More terrifying, perhaps, than an Indian war was the cholera which broke out among Scott's men en route to Fort Armstrong and took in

death one out of every four men. Lieutenant Johnston attended the Council of Sept. 21, 1832, called at Fort Armstrong, but actually held just opposite on the west side of the Mississippi, on account of the cholera at the Fort, in which a treaty was made with the Sauk and Fox Indians for the "Black Hawk Purchase" of lands in Iowa. Lieutenant Johnston signed the treaty as an attesting witness.



The Creek on the Watch Tower Tract

Roll Call of Counties

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 71)

The following officers have no address given:

Earl Pierce, capt.; Banford Morris, 1st lieut.; Loring Ames, 2nd lieut.

Charles S. Dorsey, capt.; Thaddeus Bowman, 1st lieut.; William Burns, 2nd lieut.

Alexander D. Cox, capt.; Joseph W. Duncan, 1st lieut.; Thomas T. Clark, 2nd lieut.

Seth Pratt, capt.; John M. Crabtree, 1st lieut.; Jos. Leister, 2nd lieut.

John S. Wolbourn, capt.; William Chase, 1st lieut.; James H. Blackman, 2nd lieut.

James W. Stephenson, capt.; James K. Hammett, 1st lieut.; Alex. Kerr, 2nd lieut.

Enoch Duncan, capt.; Alex. Kerr, 1st lieut.; Enoch Duncan, 2nd lieut.

_____, capt.; Harvey Cavanaw, 1st lieut.; D. S. Harris, 2nd lieut.

_____, capt.; James L. Kirkpatrick, 1st lieut. I. M. Gillispie, capt.; Barnet Wever, 1st lieut.; Edwin Stanfield, 2nd lieut.

James Gregory, capt.; Wm. E. Williams, 1st lieut.; James Goodwin, 2nd lieut.

Corbin R. Hutt, capt.; William Jeremiah, 1st lieut.; John A. Green, 2nd lieut.

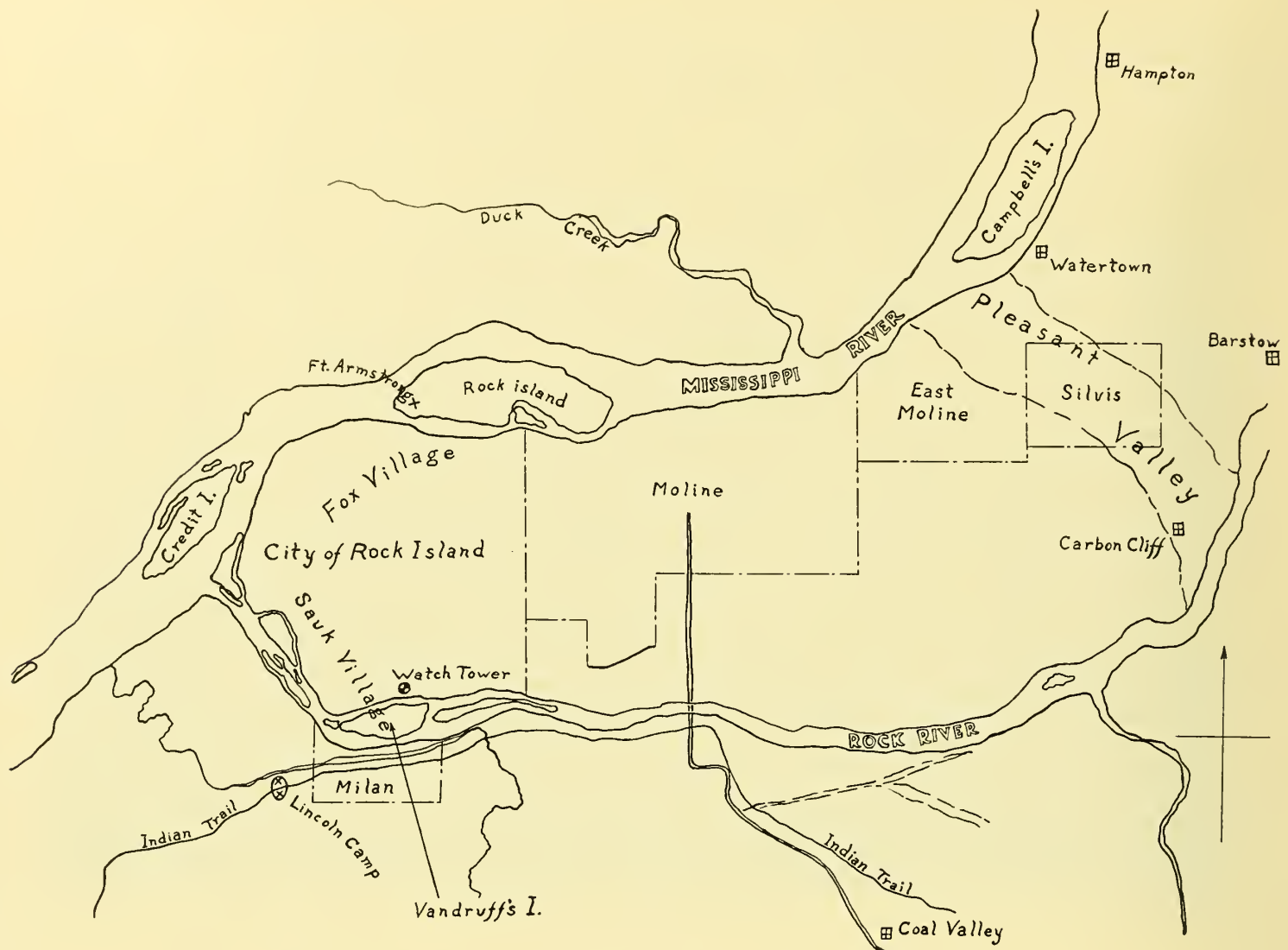
Milton M. Maughs, capt.; Moses Swan, 1st lieut.; Mathew Johnson, 2nd lieut.

_____, capt.; William Johnson, 1st lieut.

I. R. B. Gardenier, capt.; G. W. Campbell, 1st lieut.; Charles Gratiot, 2nd lieut.

Nicholas Dowling, capt.

Clack Stone, capt.; Heber Morris, 1st lieut.; Samuel Jimmerson, 2nd lieut.



Map showing location of Black Hawk Watch Tower and the territory for which the Black Hawk War was fought

Territory for which the Black Hawk War was Fought

The above map shows the village site and the territory which Black Hawk wished particularly to retain for his followers. It is bounded by the Mississippi and Rock rivers and Pleasant Valley. It was from this parcel of their one-time empire that he ordered the white settlers in the Spring of 1831, telling them, as recorded by one of them—J. W. Spencer, in his "Reminiscences," p. 34—**they must go either south of Rock river or east of Pleasant Valley.**

This tract has an unbroken ridge or backbone extending all the way from Carbon Cliff

to Black Hawk's Watch Tower, the last named being its most charming natural feature. This ridge has many indentations, with projecting bluffs between, which provide picturesque homesites for the residents of Moline, East Moline, Silvis, Rock Island and others, while the river banks are becoming increasingly popular for Summer cottages.

That it has long been a favorite spot is proven by the numerous mounds built by pre-historic peoples, and by fragments of pottery, chipped flints, arrowheads, and implements of stone found scattered from end to end of this ridge and about its slopes and shores.

Oration of Black Hawk, Prisoner

The last bloody clash at arms of the Black Hawk war passed into history at the Bad Axe on August 2, 1832. Black Hawk escaped and fled to a Winnebago village. No tribe at this time would take the risk—with so large an army of whites in the field—of befriending him. The squaws, however, were loyal to their race, and made for the fallen chief a “white dress of deer skin” to replace his worn, tattered garb. On the 27th of August, the Winnebagoes delivered Black Hawk, a prisoner, to General J. M. Street, Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien. Addressing General Street, Black Hawk made the following speech, which ranks with the masterpieces of oratory:

“You have taken me prisoner with all my warriors. I am much grieved, for I expected, if I did not defeat you, to hold out much longer, and give you more trouble before I surrendered. I tried hard to bring you into ambush, but your last general understands Indian fighting. The first one was not so wise. When I saw that I could not beat you by Indian fighting, I determined to rush on you and fight you face to face. I fought hard. But your guns were well aimed. The bullets flew like birds in the air, and whizzed by our ears like the wind through the trees in the winter. My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose dim on us in the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud and looked like a ball of fire. That was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. His heart is dead and no longer beats quick in his bosom. He is now a prisoner to the white men; they will do with him as they wish. But he can stand torture, and is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian.

“He has done nothing for which an Indian ought to be ashamed. He has fought for his countrymen, the squaws and papooses, against white men, who came, year after year, to cheat them and take away their lands. You know

the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal.

“An Indian who is as bad as the white men could not live in our nation; he would be put to death, and eat up by the wolves. The white men are bad schoolmasters; they carry false looks, and deal in false actions; they smile in the face of the poor Indian to cheat him; they shake them by the hand to gain their confidence, to make them drunk, to deceive them, and ruin our wives. We told them to let us alone, and keep away from us; but they followed on, and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us, like the snake. They poisoned us by their touch. We were not safe. We lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars, adulterers, lazy drones, all talkers and no workers.

“We looked up to the Great Spirit. We went to our great father. We were encouraged. His great council gave us fair words and big promises; but we got no satisfaction. Things were growing worse. There were no deer in the forest. The opossum and beaver were fled; the springs were drying up, and our squaws and papooses without victuals to keep them from starving. We called a great council, and built a large fire. The spirit of our fathers arose and spoke to us to avenge our wrongs or die. We all spoke before the council fire. It was warm and pleasant. We set up the war-whoop and dug up the tomahawk; our knives were ready, and the heart of Black Hawk swelled high in his bosom when he led his warriors to battle. He is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty. His father will meet him there and commend him.

"Black Hawk is a true Indian, and disdains to cry like a woman. He feels for his wife, his children and friends. But he does not care for himself. He cares for his nation and the Indians. They will suffer. He laments their fate. The white men do not scalp the head; but they do worse—they poison the heart; it is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will, in a few years, become like the white men, so that you can't trust them, and there must be, as in the white settlements, near-

ly as many officers as men to take care of them and keep them in order.

"Farewell, my nation! Black Hawk tried to save you, and avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk!"

(Copied from "Drake's Indians of North America," p. 657)



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THE BLACK HAWK WATCH TOWER IN THE COUNTY



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